

# The Social Studies

*Continuing*

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

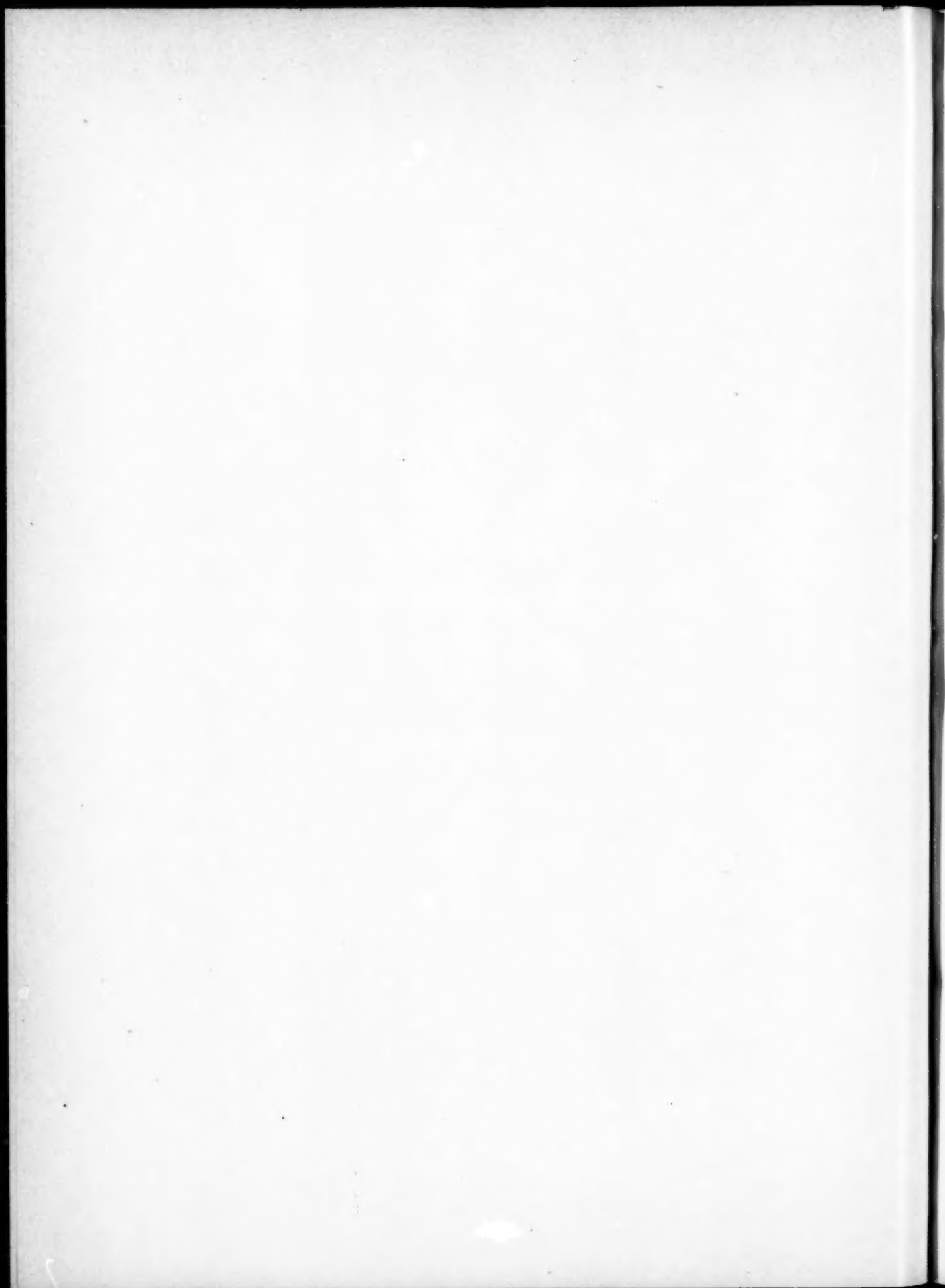
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# The Social Studies

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# The Social Studies

*Continuing The Historical Outlook*

VOLUME XXXIV, NUMBER 1

JANUARY, 1943

## A Technique for Responsible Citizenship

FREDERIC T. NEUMANN

*New York Institute for the Education of the Blind, New York City*

Since the days of the public-spirited Confucius in the sixth century B.C., political philosophers have struggled intermittently toward a definition of responsible citizenship, consistent with that type of state to which they were officially accountable or intellectually attuned. In recent times, the intensification of democracy (under the challenge of alien ideologies), has necessitated the extension of this stirring of civic-mindedness beyond the "ivory tower" and "vested officialdom" to the common man who, whether he be doer or dawdler, has a proprietary interest in his state that he must learn to appreciate and preserve through wise and constant use.

To the teacher as a common man, society presents the two-fold duty, first, of establishing that set of ideals characteristic of the dominant configuration of his culture and, secondly, of providing the means whereby that set of ideals can be achieved. In the democratic society, the dominant cultural configuration is the democratic way of life, and the means for achieving this dominant cultural pattern is the technique of responsible citizenship.

It is with respect to this technique that precise thinking, in terms of a purposefully directed procedure, is indispensable. The traditional conception that it is an ideal, the customary purpose of which is to serve as a "morale-builder" in inspiring, but impractical, patriotic addresses, must give way to

the actuality that responsible citizenship can be nothing more or less than a "very practical and workable" tool, the understanding and use of which are "everyday essentials" if democracy is not to be undermined from within. Hence, the technique of responsible citizenship may be analyzed in terms of a fusion (not a dichotomy), of Understanding and Use—for understanding without use is unproductive, whereas use (in the sense of action), without understanding is either a meaningless waste or dangerous application of energy.

### UNDERSTANDING

The question will immediately be asked: "To what body of material does this Understanding refer?" The answer, of necessity, is so comprehensive that its interpretation may depend upon intuition as well as judgment to be meaningful. On the one hand, the body of material (to which the "understanding" essential to responsible citizenship refers), may be thought of as relating to the social sciences in general; on the other hand, it may be conceived, in the somewhat less limited but more realistic manner, as having its source in the whole "interplay" of human relationships and social control—whether the manifestations be on the plane of individual or group, local or international, relations. Yet this understanding, though drawing upon the social sciences for its conclusions, must not be interpreted

as meaning a thorough knowledge of the social sciences or of the "interplay" between human relationships and social control; instead, it is a method of reaching an intelligent decision in the broad range of affairs associated with responsible citizenship. By analogy, we may say that it implies, not the comprehensive knowledge of an encyclopedia, but the "practical" knowledge concerning the way in which an encyclopedia can be profitably used.

Once the nature of this understanding has been grasped, its functioning and potentialities can readily be appreciated through an analysis of its characteristics. In brief, the understanding prerequisite to responsible citizenship is based, first, upon "relational discernment," the criteria of which are the "approximation of truth" and the "relativity of reality," and secondly, upon "social awareness," the criteria of which are "mutual appreciation" and "mutual cultivation."

1. *Relational Discernment*: Whenever a civic problem arises (whether it be the casting of a vote in a primary election or the envisioning, planning and building of a community school), the intelligent solution cannot, necessarily, be determined by resort to guesswork or reliance upon "party loyalty." Yet, all too many people place civic problems in a category which, because it is political in nature and vested with a public trust, is thought to be impersonal in essence and divorced of any private trust, and is therefore treated carelessly. How often do we hear in the discussion of civic issues, "My opinion is as good as yours!" How seldom do we hear, "My solution is as workable as yours." It is in the distinction of meaning between these two assertions that we find the key to the attitude of the average individual; and this attitude is that civic issues (in whatever way they are decided), are not to be treated as problems demanding definite methods of solution. Not until this attitude has been dispelled can there be any reliable technique of responsible citizenship.

Actually, civic issues (whether they concern public projects, school trustees, or international policies), are problems that must be consciously and purposefully solved by means of a definite procedure. Perhaps, as in sets of simultaneous equations, there may be more than one correct solution; but, whatever the number of solutions, they must be intelligently determined.

Once the problem has been clearly stated, the first step toward solution is the gaining of relational discernment. Briefly, in most civic issues, the individual is called upon, not to estimate the wisdom of any isolated choice, but to determine the relative merits of each choice in terms of all the other choices. Thus, the voter is not asked to decide whether A will make a "good" or "bad" representative, and X a "good" or "bad" policy; rather, it is his duty to

ascertain who among A, B, and C will make the "best" representative, and which among X, Y, and Z will make the "best" policy. It is this situation that is given actuality in relational discernment—a concept which can be defined as "insight into each alternative and an appreciation of the relationships among all the alternatives."

(a) *The Approximation of Truth*: Although the gaining of insight depends upon precise thinking in the weighing of circumstances, one against another, it is basically a function of fact-gathering. Yet, the axiom that the more one knows about a matter, the better able is he to understand its significance, is meaningless unless the individual is willing to undertake the prosaic task of collecting information, pertinent to the matter at hand. In civic issues especially, it is necessary to search for the truth; and because these issues concern human beings and human circumstances that constantly vary, each new problem (and even each new phase of the same problem) demands a new search. This aspect of change in civic conditions produces problems that, at best, permit only of tentative solutions. The individual who ignores this factor will either fail to solve any problem or find his work doubly difficult, for he will be fighting with a weapon which, though perhaps once effective, has been completely outmoded by the new circumstances. On the other hand, the individual who bears this factor in mind will have reasonable assurance of success and will find his task all the easier, for he will have learned the lessons of growth, change and adaptation. When, therefore, we speak of the approximation of truth as a criterion of insight into civic problems, we mean that the solutions of these problems, while valid for a particular time, place, and set of circumstances, must constantly be retested in order to approach reality.

(b) *The Relativity of Reality*: If we are to approximate reality, we must realize that, just as "nature abhors a vacuum," society abhors isolation. Everything exists in relation to everything else, for everything has an environment—and environments are crystallizations of relationships. In applying this conception to civic issues (which, as has been pointed out, are usually choices among alternatives), the individual will go beyond the study of each alternative, as an isolated choice, to an appreciation of the relationships among all the alternatives. To some, the implication that it is possible to understand each alternative without understanding the relationships among all the alternatives, may have the appearance of a meaningless verbalism. They may argue that to understand any alternative without understanding its relationships to all other alternatives is a contradiction in terms. Sound as this argument is when considered as a literal verbalism, it has scant value as a teaching device because it

lacks proper emphasis. In short, it is just as exact and just as meaningless as an "unweighted" index number.

Intricate as these verbal considerations may appear, the actual distinction between understanding alternatives as isolated choices and understanding them in all their relationships can be easily illustrated by most civic issues. In the first illustration, we may assume that a village has received ninety thousand dollars and that, although it needs both new streets and a new water system, the money is sufficient for only one of the projects. The problem for the voter is to decide which of these projects should be undertaken. In making his decision, he will find it easy to point out and understand the advantages of the new streets and the new water system as well as the disadvantages of the old streets and the old water system. He might then say, "I have carefully studied the problem presented by our old streets and the advantages of new streets, and the facts force me to vote for the new streets." But by using the same reasoning, he might just as logically decide to vote for the new water system. Obviously, he cannot reach an intelligent solution simply by understanding each of these alternatives as isolated choices. He must go further and study the relative merits of these projects by comparing, as well as by contrasting, the advantages of the new streets and the disadvantages of the old water system with the disadvantages of the old streets and the advantages of the new water system.

The difficulty of this latter task will serve amply to indicate that the understanding of alternatives as isolated choices is, at best, only a partial step toward understanding them in their relationships. In the second illustration, Mr. and Mrs. Jones, who have three children attending the city school and who have large amounts of property upon which they must pay school taxes, may choose for school trustee either Mr. Smith who places educational facilities before a low tax rate or Mr. Brown who places a low tax rate before educational facilities. Again, it is easy to point out the right choice in each alternative, but it is quite a different matter to point out the right choice among all the alternatives.

The appreciation of the relationships among alternatives, therefore, is just as indispensable as insight into each alternative if the individual is to achieve that relational discernment which is prerequisite to the intelligent solution of all civic problems.

2. *Social Awareness:* It has already been stated that just as in sets of simultaneous equations, so also in civic issues there may be more than one correct solution. However, this is the limit to the similarity between civic and mathematical problems, for, whereas the latter depend upon the individual's

mathematical skill, the former depend upon his standard of values. The answers to the questions, "Will A prove a good or bad representative," and "Will X make a good or bad policy," are relative to the answerer's definitions of the terms, "good" and "bad." Consequently, as long as there are differences in standards of values, there can never be complete agreement on the solution of civic problems.

Immediately, we are confronted with the question, "Should we not substitute for these different standards of values a single standard of values so as to gain the strength of unity in the solution of our civic issues?" In a democracy where the dignity of the human personality is recognized and protected, there can be only one answer. "Different standards of values must be recognized and protected, for in these very differences we find the vital expression of human personality." Furthermore, since in civic issues there is usually more than one correct solution, there is no need of unanimity in order to reach a "workable" solution. At the same time, the strength that is provided by the pruning of constructive criticism is the strength that is born of differences rather than of unanimity.

Yet, even in a democracy, there are certain standards of values that cannot be permitted. Likewise, there should be certain fundamental values below which no standard should fall. In general, since responsible citizenship concerns the interplay between human relationships and social control, the nature of those values, below which no standard should fall, may be designated as Social Awareness—a concept, the criteria of which are Mutual Appreciation and Mutual Cultivation.

(a) *Mutual Appreciation:* A key to the meaning of social awareness and its positive criteria will be found in an understanding of the four levels of human relationships. These levels, as related to the concept of social awareness, may be termed: (1) the active-negative plane of exploitation; (2) the passive-negative plane of tolerance; (3) the passive-positive plane of mutual appreciation; and (4) the active-positive plane of mutual cultivation. (With respect to extermination, which is customarily listed as a separate plane of human relationships, it is, in the above classification, treated as a special case of exploitation just as, in conics, the circle is treated as a special case of the ellipse.) Concerning exploitation, we must unflinchingly adhere to the policy that all standards of values, which rest on this plane and which, therefore, either deny or distort human relationships by destroying human equality, cannot be permitted in a democracy.

On the other hand, although the negative aspects of exploitation are obvious, the negative nature of tolerance (a concept which has been traditionally



proclaimed "the essence of democracy"), is not so easily recognized. Briefly however, tolerance has usually been interpreted to mean an absence of interference; and this interpretation, when put into practice, has been perverted to excuse the existence of poverty as well as all the other misfortunes of mankind. In this sense, tolerance is a passively negative expression of social awareness, for, whereas it does not forcibly destroy or distort human relationships, it makes no conscious effort to discover or acknowledge them. The history of Europe, from 1920 to 1940, furnishes ample proof of what happens to democracy when a restricted attitude of tolerance compels the citizen to ignore those conditions which have undermined the health, embittered the spirit and destroyed the faith of his neighbors "across the tracks," and which will, eventually, destroy him and even his democracy. It is for this reason that the standards of values, characteristic of the plane of tolerance, are inadequate as tests of social awareness and insufficient as guarantees of vigorous democracy.

We must, therefore, advance to the third level, the passive-positive plane of mutual appreciation, in order to establish the first criterion of social awareness. The spirit of this criterion may be simply defined as the sense of fellow-feeling with all humanity, and its functioning may be explained as both the willingness and the endeavor to understand all men in all circumstances. Visionary as these conceptions may appear when considered from the point of view of an isolationist mentality, we find, in the elementary truth that "the world has become a unit and whatever affects one man affects all mankind," the unequivocal implication that standards of mutual appreciation must be developed if civilization is not to outgrow itself.

On a much less pretentious but just as significant scale, we may point out that the innumerable difficulties which form the major portion of the daily experiences of every individual arise, not because problems in themselves produce misunderstandings among people, but because misunderstandings among people persist until they assume the guise of self-generated problems. In the study of industrial relations, many theorists begin with, base their findings on, and formulate their proposals, in terms of the premise that the employer and employee do not trust each other, when, actually the basis of the trouble lies in the simple fact that the employer and employee do not understand each other—and so it is that most of the symptoms of mistrust and bad faith are but by-products of mutual misunderstanding. In general then, because moral progress is measured in terms of the expanding range of human sympathy, society can be assured of no consistent moral and material growth until each individual has patterned

his values about a firm sense of mutual appreciation.

(b) *Mutual Cultivation*: At this point, in order to define mutual cultivation, we must draw a precise distinction between its operative import as a level of living and its qualitative import as a characteristic of understanding. Prerequisite to the analysis of this distinction are the arbitrary definitions that the technique of responsible citizenship is a fusion of understanding and use and that understanding, as related to this fusion, is basically the method of reaching an intelligent decision, and not the decision itself. The next essential step is the simple observation that a method is a way of proceeding—and this way of proceeding implies both a means and a direction of proceeding. Restating these concepts in terms of understanding, we may say that the means of proceeding is provided by relational discernment (the particular instrumentalities being the approximation of truth and the relativity of reality), and that the direction of proceeding is determined by social awareness (the guideposts being mutual appreciation and mutual cultivation).

Thus, since mutual appreciation, as a characteristic of understanding, has already been interpreted to mean a fellow-feeling with humanity and the willingness and endeavor to understand all men in all circumstances (or the willingness and endeavor to recognize the nature of relationships among men and the effects of problems on humanity), mutual cultivation, as a characteristic of understanding, may now be defined as a fellow-aspiring with humanity and the willingness and endeavor to understand all men in better circumstances (or, the willingness and endeavor to recognize how the relationships among all men can be improved and how problems can be solved in the interest of humanity). On the other hand, mutual cultivation, as an expression of the active-positive plane of human relationships, not only means the intellectual process of recognizing how the relationships among men can be improved, but also includes the physical process of bringing about those improvements in men's relationships.

It may now be asked why a similar distinction was not made in the treatment of mutual appreciation. The answer is simply that, both as a characteristic of understanding and as a passive-positive plane of human relationships, mutual appreciation (whatever difficulties it may preclude or remove) implies nothing more than the intellectual process which underlies the expanding range of human sympathy and which is measured in terms of the recognition of relationships as they exist, and not as they "ought" to exist.

Verbalistic as these distinctions and definitions may appear, they are, nevertheless, the essential "sophistications" of "civilized" thinking; and, as convenient keys to reality, these symbolisms must be

exactly understood if they are to be usefully related to the planes of direct emotional experience. It is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind that mutual appreciation and mutual cultivation are not only the guideposts which should give direction to understanding, but also the fundamental values which can give lasting vitality to democracy. Specifically, we may say that mutual appreciation is the cornerstone of values upon which all standards must rest and that mutual cultivation is the capstone of values toward which all standards should point.

Concerning the interpretation of these criteria of social awareness in terms of political or economic policy, a word of warning may suffice to check any tendency in the drift of loose thinking. To the uncritical mind, the concept, "social awareness," may connote a recommendation of all types of "collectivisms"—if not a condemnation of any aspect of "individualism." But this interpretation (whether justified by the actions of particular "individualists" or contradicted by the ambitions of particular "collectivists"), is not and can never be a warrantable corollary of the concept of social awareness. The proof of this statement is the fact that mutual appreciation and mutual cultivation are intrinsically standards of values which, to be meaningful, must achieve acceptance and expression on the levels of personal volition and self-discipline. In short, the criteria of social awareness presuppose and preserve but one way of life—and that is the democratic way.

Obviously then, since the concept of social awareness is based upon the recognition and preservation of democracy, it is an indispensable directive force in any technique of responsible citizenship.

#### USE

If for every plan there were a structure, or for every aspiration an accomplishment, there would be little need to emphasize that the technique of responsible citizenship, as a means rather than as an end, must consist of both "understanding" and "use." Yet, in affairs of human conduct, it is almost axiomatic that there is a functional lag between principle and practice. We know all too well that understanding, though accurately derived from the application of relational discernment and social awareness, can have no effect on civic issues if human beings do not put that understanding to use.

In the literature of the social sciences, there has been a tendency to find the remedy for this "lag" in a "philosophy of action." But this remedy has the potential defect of leading to action for action's sake—a defect which becomes especially disquieting when we recognize that since the term "action" is by nature intransitive, its essence of undirection may ultimately manifest itself in meaningless motion.

The practical significance of this potentiality can be easily illustrated by the proposition that "The degree of responsible citizenship is directly proportional to the percentage of people voting in primary elections." Here (whatever the assumption should be), we have the emphasis on undirected action, for when a person is criticized for carelessly casting his vote in the primaries, his final defense will be, "Well, at least I fulfilled my responsibility of casting a vote." The consequences of this attitude are so obvious that we need only mention the necessity of not confusing this irresponsibility of action with responsible citizenship.

Because this temptation to loose thinking is implicit in the term "action," it is difficult to overestimate the importance of defining responsible citizenship as a technique of "understanding" and "use"—for "use," being by nature transitive, directs the mind to the objective of the action as well as to its actual operation. In the technique of responsible citizenship, the objective of the "use" is the "understanding" in so far as the application of relational discernment and social awareness to particular civic problems provides definite solutions, and the operation of the "use" is a functional sequence first of Conviction in Knowledge, based on the expedient of reasonableness, intellectual integrity and emotional maturity, and secondly of the Resolve of Realization, based on courage of conviction, energy of initiation and the will to persevere.

1. *Conviction in Knowledge:* The tendency of broadminded people to frown upon convictions in general is a product of intellectual and emotional timidity and a misinterpretation of history. On the one hand, although an individual may have sufficient understanding of a particular civic issue, his fear that his understanding may be insufficient compels him to put off indefinitely the acceptance of his conclusions; or, convinced that his understanding is sufficient, he may still hesitate to accept the indicated conclusions lest he be brought into conflict with those whom he likes or into association with those whom he dislikes.

On the other hand, when the individual reads the history of the Middle Ages and learns of the terrible or ludicrous effects of bigotry, he concludes that since convictions were then the foundation of bigotry, all convictions must always lead to bigotry. The fallacy of this inference can be appreciated if we realize that whereas some convictions (such as those concerning race-purity) retard civilization, other convictions (such as those concerning equality of opportunity) immeasurably promote it. The difference between these convictions, in addition to their diametrical effects upon humanity, is that the former are founded upon ignorance while the latter spring from understanding. But the prime factor to

bear in mind is not that "enlightened" convictions make for advancement or that all consciously achieved advancement depends upon "enlightened" convictions, but that because of these truths of human progress every individual must learn to develop convictions in terms of his understanding. Since we have already described the procedure of "understanding" (and it must be remembered that this understanding is always prerequisite to the development of enlightened convictions), we may immediately consider the three criteria—the expedient of reasonableness, intellectual integrity and emotional maturity—by which the worth of every conviction is measured.

(a) *The Expedient of Reasonableness:* In civic issues (as we have previously noted), there may be more than one correct solution. However, just as in the application of simultaneous quadratic equations to concrete circumstances we must choose only that solution which is meaningful in terms of the particular problem so also in the application of the procedure of understanding to definite civic issues we must rely on only that solution which is either "workable" or acceptable in the particular situation. The functioning of this process can be easily understood when we realize that whereas relational discernment determines and evaluates solutions in reference to what is potential, the expedient of reasonableness interprets and applies solutions in reference to what is practical. By way of illustration, we may assume that Mr. Jones has been in an accident and that his church has decided to give his family financial as well as spiritual assistance. The problem is, therefore, "the raising of money by the church." Upon investigation, it is discovered that other churches have solved similar problems by "sponsoring plays, Bingo games, food sales and dances." Applying the tests of relational discernment to these four alternatives, the church committee learns that its problem has two solutions—that is, that the needed money can best be raised by either a dance or a Bingo game. But these potential solutions, determined though they were by relational discernment, can have no actual effect upon the problem until the committee, using the expedient of reasonableness, develops a conviction as to which of the solutions to apply. If the church in question frowns on all gambling, the choice will be easy—for there will be only one practical solution, a dance. But if the church permits Bingo-playing, the choice may suddenly become difficult since the existence of two practical and equally productive solutions may lead to much waste of time and energy in futile wrangling. To avoid this difficulty, a selection must be arbitrarily made—either by lot for an individual or by majority-vote for a committee.

In general then, we may say that where there are

two or more potential solutions conviction must be based on that solution which is workable or acceptable in the particular situation, and that where there are two or more workable or acceptable solutions, convictions can and must be unhesitatingly determined by any arbitrary method of selection. In civic issues, this rule can be of invaluable assistance to both the inspired "reformer" and the "average man." On the one hand, "reformers" who ignore the distinction between potential and practical solutions may, after years of struggling, fail to solve problems which, had some attention been given to the acceptability as well as to the potentiality of the solutions, might have been easily and quickly remedied. On the other hand, there is the situation in which the "average man," discovering two solutions to be equally sound, refuses to develop a conviction for either one of them; and consequently, whereas both solutions are acceptable, both fail because neither is accepted.

The question may now be asked: "But what happens if among the potential solutions there is no practical solution—or, in terms of the illustration concerning the raising of money by a church, what happens if the standards of sobriety of the church frown on both dances and Bingo games, the two potential solutions?" Since to do nothing is to achieve nothing, the only answer can be that we must work on the basis of partial solutions in order to alleviate as much of the hardship as possible—and in the illustration that would probably mean the sponsoring of both a food sale and play. Restating this conclusion as an addition to the rule for the expedient of reasonableness, we may say that if among potential solutions to a problem there is no practical solution, convictions must rest on partial solutions in order to provide a basis for the mitigation of the problem. In civic issues in a democracy however, this point tends to be academic since, although some problems may have potential solutions which (because of religious doctrine, for example), are not practical, all problems have at least one practical solution which can be determined by a sincere application of the procedure of understanding. Once this determination has been made, the function of the expedient of reasonableness is to convert it into a conviction so that the individual will compel himself to apply it to the actual solution of a problem.

(b) *Intellectual Integrity:* Just as a carpenter must accustom himself to the "grip" of a new hammer and to the "hang of its head" before he can use it effectively, so also the individual, if he is to apply a new conviction successfully, must adjust himself to all of its implications. Since man is both a thinking and a feeling being, this adjustment can be meaningful only when it is considered a product of both



intellectual integrity and emotional maturity. Concerning the first factor of this product, "intellectual integrity," we may define it as the orientation of the mind to conform with and to support the new conviction in all its bearings. The practical importance of this definition is illustrated by every civic issue in a democracy. In brief, because even sound convictions differ, the success of any one of them depends upon the popular support that it receives. Consequently, the individual who wishes to promote the success of any particular conviction must so thoroughly understand it in its relations to himself and to others that he will be able not only to think consistently in terms of it, but also to argue convincingly in behalf of it.

With this concept in mind, we may now answer a question that might have been asked concerning the expedient of reasonableness—namely, "Why is it necessary in seeking the solution to a problem to consider those alternatives which, if they prove to be potential solutions, must nevertheless be discarded because under the circumstances they are unacceptable (or in the language of the illustration, 'Why it is necessary to consider the alternative of a Bingo game when the church does not permit Bingo-playing?')" The answer, as a corollary of the concept of intellectual integrity, may be stated in the following manner: A consideration of all alternatives leads to an appreciation of their relative merit; this appreciation of relative merit, especially where it is discovered that the more effective solutions are unacceptable, stimulates the individual to inquire into the reasons for the unacceptability; and this inquiry (whether it makes for a change or not) makes for a point of view which, because it is enlightened rather than enforced, can and will be more intelligently and more effectively applied.

(c) Emotional Maturity: Akin in function to intellectual integrity is emotional maturity, the second factor of adjustment of the individual to a new conviction. Thus it may be defined as the orientation of the emotions to conform with and to support a conviction in all its bearings. The need for this orientation is evident in the great and small experiences of everyday living, for how often do we hear and how often do we say, "Although I know that to be right, I have a strange feeling that I ought to do this—and so I shall do it." Because it is this deciding by whim that frustrates clear thinking, nullifies sound convictions, and produces either folly or fanaticism, every person has a duty to himself and to his community to keep his emotions constantly under control—a duty which is no less pressing than that of keeping his automobile constantly under control. But even more dangerous than this tendency of the emotions to trust in whim rather than in understanding is the process of ra-

tionalization, a process which (instead of ignoring the weight of understanding and reason) brings this weight into the support of the emotions. Briefly, the individual who rationalizes begins with a whim and justifies it as understanding, for he says in effect, "What I believe is right," and not "I believe what is right." In rationalization therefore, we have the most striking illustration of the necessity to control emotions lest they so completely control the individual and his reasoning power that he will be deprived not only of understanding, but even of the faculty to achieve understanding. Finally, because the emotions contain a vast reserve of energy, the control of the emotions means that this energy can be brought to the support of sound convictions and thereby afford them greater opportunity for success.

In general then, if understanding is to be converted into conviction, the conversion can be sound only when it is based on the expedient of reasonableness, intellectual integrity and emotional maturity.

2. *The Resolve of Realization*: Once a conviction has been developed, thoroughly tested and proved sound, it can become effective only if it is put actively to work solving the problem for which it was intended. Easy as this process of realization is to describe, it is that part of the technique of responsible citizenship most difficult to put into practice, for its success depends upon actual accomplishment in the complete removal of the problem. Since, therefore, every conviction must be used in order to be useful, it is essential that the individual develop along with his conviction that resolve of realization which provides the motive power of achievement, and which manifests itself in courage of conviction, energy of initiation and the will to persevere.

(a) *Courage of Conviction*: If a person has carefully applied the tests of relational discernment and social awareness in gaining an understanding of a civic issue and if he has honestly relied on the expedient of reasonableness, intellectual integrity and emotional maturity in deriving a conviction concerning its solution, it is his privilege and his duty in a democracy to acquaint his neighbors with his findings. In this process the individual must be more didactic than dogmatic, for to be convincing he must explain reasons as well as state results. Since this approach places emphasis on the willing (not condescending) explanation of one's own ideas rather than on the challenging condemnation of the ideas of others, even the most timid soul should have little need for courage. But timid or not, the individual who wishes to make his convictions effective must have or develop the courage to express them and to fight for them until they have proved their worth.

(b) *Energy of Initiation*: In order to appreciate the significance of this concept, we must understand

that actual accomplishment requires the doing as well as the courage for the doing. In this sense, it is obvious that although courage (as a quality of mind or a firmness of spirit to meet difficulties without fear) is prerequisite to the realization of convictions, it is not realization itself. Recognizing, therefore, the truth of the vernacularism that "someone must start the doing before anything can get done," we may define energy of initiation as the inceptive application of motive power to conviction so that a definite beginning is made in the actual removal of the particular problem. Important in this definition is the implied distinction between the power of inception and the power of continuation—a distinction which is no less meaningful to the leader of a moral crusade than to the worker with a wheelbarrow. On the one hand, because inception implies the breaking of a trend, its effectiveness depends upon effort that is essentially intensive; on the other hand, because continuation means the maintaining of a trend, its effectiveness depends upon effort that is essentially persistent. Thus, whenever a person puts a conviction to work, he must prepare especially the initial effort, for the momentum developed by this effort determines in large measure the nature and extent of the realization.

(c) *The Will to Persevere*: Since the essence of the power of continuation has been pointed out, we may define the will to persevere as that persistent motive power which converts conviction into accomplishment. In order to appreciate the practical application of this definition, we must understand that the concept "continuation" implies a moving, a direction and a method—or in general, a plan. Consequently, whenever the process of continuation is to be consciously directed (as it must be in the realization of any particular conviction), a plan of achievement must be formulated and followed lest the momentum created by the initial effort be dissipated in indecision. Concerning the actual formulation of this plan of achievement especially for civic issues, the individual should bear in mind two principles: (1) He must consolidate his support before he attempts to overcome his opposition. (2) He must adapt his procedure to the requirements of his conviction, the limitations of his resources and the peculiarities of his community. Finally, with this plan as a guide, the man who has the will to persevere is the man whose conviction becomes accomplishment and whose duty becomes deed.

*A Suggestion for All*: If democracy is to remain a way of life and not become an historic ideology,

it is the duty of everyone not only to learn the technique of responsible citizenship, but to learn to work with and actually to practice this technique until it becomes a habit of everyday living.

*Implications for the Teacher*: The technique of responsible citizenship is an instrument and not an ideal. Like other instruments, it can be used safely and effectively only if the user has been trained. Unfortunately, in the majority of cases in the past, this training has been either neglected or misunderstood. Thus in teaching responsible citizenship, many have told what to do, but few have taught how to do it. In recent times, the problem has been complicated by those educators who, confusing citizenship with democracy, have suggested that the technique of responsible citizenship should be taught, not in any single course, but in every course—(and the result all too frequently has been that it is taught either superficially or not at all).

To those that feel that this situation demands a remedy, the following recommendations may prove helpful:

(1) Because the technique of responsible citizenship is an invaluable tool in the preservation of democracy, everyone must be trained in its use.

(2) This training (whether or not begun in the junior high school) must be made a definite part of the curriculum for social studies in each year of the senior high school.

(3) In the tenth year, attention should be given to the nature and purpose of the technique of responsible citizenship and to a general interpretation of "understanding" and "use."

(4) In the eleventh year, the instruction should include an explanation of "relational discernment," "social awareness," "conviction in knowledge," and "the resolve of realization."

(5) In the twelfth year, the student should be taught the meaning and application of "the approximation of truth," "the relativity of reality," "mutual appreciation," "mutual cultivation," "the expedient of reasonableness," "intellectual integrity," "emotional maturity," "courage of conviction," "energy of initiation," and "the will to persevere."

Finally, whether or not this training is specifically required by state law, each teacher of social studies should consider it his personal duty to his community to instruct his students in the use of a technique of responsible citizenship—for only to the extent that we all have and use a technique of responsible citizenship does democracy hold any future for us.

# Ideas for Social Studies Classes

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There has been much discussion at meetings and in educational periodicals during recent months of the question, "What should be emphasized in social studies classes during the current school year?" There seems to be general agreement on the following:

(1) The teaching of the social studies should be directed toward giving students a better understanding and greater appreciation of America and the ideals and goals of our society. (2) More attention should be given to the study of current events, particularly those that deal with the present crisis and the problems involved. (3) The problems involved in building a peace following the war and postwar reconstruction of the world should be emphasized.

The purpose of this article is to suggest a few things which seem to be particularly timely, desirable, and significant for social studies classes to give attention to during the present school year. Most of these are just as important in peacetime as in wartime, but some of them have not received enough attention in social studies classes in the past. They should all contribute to the three generalized goals of social studies teaching set forth in the first paragraph. The list is not complete by any means, but if some of the ideas are helpful to teachers, the article will have accomplished its purpose. The following are some topics which seem to be particularly important for social studies classes to emphasize during the year:

*Understanding and Appreciation of America and Its Ideals.* Schools throughout America are centers of patriotic activity. This should be more than a wave of patriotic emotionalism; it should be based on an understanding and appreciation of our country and what it stands for, the realization that we are fighting to keep our ideals, the things that make our country great, etc. There are a number of approaches which might be used in the teaching of American ideals. History and civics classes might study the ideals contained in such documents as the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, Acts of Congress, Decisions of the Supreme Court, the Atlantic Charter, reports of Commissions such as that of the National Education Association on the Social-Economic Goals of America and the Report of the National Resources Planning Board. Papers might be written on such topics as "I Am An American," "What My Country Means to Me," "Appreciating Democracy," "The Characteristics of a Good American," "American

Ideals," or many other topics which would lead to greater understanding of the things which make our country great, and the ideals which we are fighting to preserve.

This would include a study of our natural resources and their importance in the present crisis. Never before have the American people been conscious of the value of our natural resources. One good result of the sacrifices which people must make during the war may be to cause them to appreciate our natural resources and use them more wisely in the future. Conservation has taken on a new meaning since the outbreak of the war. Study of our natural resources and ways in which they can be conserved, their importance in planning for the future, etc., should be given emphasis more than ever before in social studies classes.

*The Common Man and His Contribution to Civilization.* Vice-President Wallace's address before the Free World Association on May 8, 1942—at first entitled "The Price of Free World Victory," now called the "Century of the Common Man"—has won a spontaneous and steadily growing response from public opinion both in America and abroad. It has gripped the imagination of the world, much as Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points did in 1918. This speech should be studied by social studies classes. They should study the part which the common man has contributed to civilization throughout the ages, the struggle he has made to win his rights, and the part the common man is playing in the war. Questions such as, "Why has the present war been called a people's revolution?" "Is democracy an achievement of the common man?" "What part should the common man play in the history of the future?" might be discussed in connection with a unit of study on the common man and his contributions to civilization. The rights mentioned in the Report of the National Resources Planning Board might be studied in this connection.

*Public Opinion, Propaganda, Censorship, Morale, War Psychology.* These are some topics which are very important in connection with the war. This is a war of ideas; psychology is one of the greatest weapons. In order to read a newspaper intelligently or to understand the nature of the present war, it is necessary to have a knowledge of the part psychology is playing in the war, the methods of propaganda, how public opinion is formed, how rumors are spread, and the importance of morale. It is important that the factors which help to keep up morale be stressed;



how our enemies try to undermine morale, and what we can do to help maintain morale should be given attention. It is also important that students be given an insight into the necessity and methods of censorship in wartime. No program of instruction in social studies this year will be complete without it covering these topics. There should be little difficulty in securing reliable information on the topics, and a knowledge of them should be of great benefit to students.

*Wise Spending and Consumption.* The present emergency offers a great opportunity for the teaching of wise spending and consumption. Many of the war-time activities in which the schools will engage during the year are related to this topic. It is extremely important that students not only learn about this topic but put into practice the essentials of wise spending and consumption. Repeated suggestions along this line will be made throughout the year by both government and private agencies. The Office of Price Administration has issued material on this topic, and is sponsoring a Consumer's Week to emphasize the importance of wise spending and consumption in connection with the war effort. Information on this topic may also be secured from a number of organizations and agencies.

*The Geography of the Air Age.* We now have an entirely new, aviation-created geography. It is as much different from the steamship geography as the steamship geography was from the sailship geography. The government has launched a program to air-condition youth and give them an understanding of the new conception of geography. How the airplane has changed geography, the social significance of the airplane, how airplane geography will change the relationships of different sections of the earth, the methods of warfare, and the thinking of people are topics which are of vital significance for study and discussion in social studies classes this year. From a military point of view, Alaska is said to be the most important spot in the world. Study the new ideas on geography and see if you can see why this is believed to be true. After the war, the need for understanding the new geography and the social significance of the airplane will be just as great as today. Study of geography must be modernized this year in order to give students a true picture of the world of today. Geography as taught a few years ago is as out-of-date as yesterday's newspaper.

*Juvenile Delinquency as Caused by Wartime Conditions.* There has been a marked rise in the number of crimes committed by children and youth of England during the war, and authorities warn that the same thing is likely to happen here. In fact, the figures available indicate that there is already a great increase in juvenile delinquency in both the United States and Canada. The social studies classes, particu-

larly sociology classes, might devote considerable time to the study of this topic. First, a study might be made of the problem of juvenile delinquency in the local community. Material might be obtained from such agencies in the community as the juvenile court, child guidance clinics, schools, churches, and boys' clubs. Second, a study might be made of juvenile delinquency in the state. Material might be secured from the State Department of Public Welfare. Last, a study might be made of juvenile delinquency as a wartime problem of the entire nation. Material can be secured from government agencies such as the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and from organizations such as the National Probation Society, 1790 Broadway, New York City, and the Society for the Prevention of Crime, 42 Broadway, New York City. Information gathered in a course on this timely problem should be made available to community newspapers and groups which may be in a position to do something about it.

*The 1940 Census.* Most of the information of the Census has been released and more of the information will be available during the year. Here is a wealth of vital information for use by social studies classes. The figures from the Census will be valuable in history, civics, sociology, economics, geography, and courses in modern problems. The following information on illiteracy taken from the Census will illustrate the value of the reports for social studies classes: The Census revealed that there were more than 10,100,000 adults, twenty-five years of age and over, in the United States who are functionally illiterate. This represents 13.5 of our adult population and is a great obstacle to the mobilization of manpower for specialized war production and for military service. The dangers and problems that result from functional illiteracy both in time of peace and war need no comment. The functional illiterates are not all foreign-born or Negroes. Over 4,200,000 of them are native-born whites; 3,100,000 are foreign born; approximately 2,700,000 are Negroes. The South is not the only place where large numbers cannot pass a simple literacy test—more than 1,000,000 are found in the state of New York, and Illinois has 462,000. As a source of information on modern social problems and trends, population, and other statistics, the reports are the best to be found anywhere. Little, if any, of the information is to be found in textbooks now in use.

*Study of Labor Unions and Labor Movement.* The large majority of the students enrolled in secondary schools are destined to become manual laborers. Yet few of these students are taught anything about labor unions and the history of the labor movement in America. A unit of work dealing with this topic would be a valuable addition to a number of social

studies courses. It might include something about trade unionism and what it stands for, the history of the labor movement in America, labor laws, the Social Security Act, and similar topics with which every future worker should be familiar. Pamphlet material for use in a study of this topic may be secured from government agencies, labor unions, and organizations dealing with citizenship problems. Study of this topic will naturally include employer-employee relationship, forms of labor unions, policies of organized laborers and organized employers, the weapons of economic warfare, and the tools of economic cooperation.

*Report of the American Youth Commission.* The American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education has published its final summary report. This volume, entitled *Youth and the Future*, is the best source of information on contemporary youth problems in America available anywhere. It is accompanied by a guidebook for use in group study and discussion. This should find wide use in connection with social studies classes. It should give youth

an insight into some of the things which youth of a few years ago learned through bitter and, often, tragic experience. Whether or not this particular report is used as a basis for study, social studies classes should give much attention to youth problems. It is important that a study of youth problems give attention to the problems of the local community as well as those which are characteristic of the entire nation.

This article has not attempted to outline or suggest a social studies program, but the purpose has been to mention a few things which seem particularly timely and important, and which are likely to be overlooked. Understanding and appreciating America and its ideals was mentioned first because it seems to be the goal of social studies teaching to which all others are subordinate. Most of the activities carried on in schools this year will be directed toward helping preserve American ideals. It seems that together with this program of action to preserve American ideals we should take advantage of the opportunity offered to give students a clear understanding of what these ideals are.

## A War Information Course

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What is the responsibility of the school in insuring that its pupils are properly informed about the present war? Should this matter be left to the judgment of the individual social studies teacher to treat or neglect as he sees fit? Or should the school assume the responsibility of assuring every pupil the opportunity to learn the aims and ideals of our democracy at war and acquire a knowledge of our fighting forces, our home front efforts, and all of the social and economic adjustments so vital to the war effort?

In the Upper Darby Junior High School, the principal, Mr. Wallace C. Savage, has wisely seen fit to establish a course, meeting one period a week, in which every seventh and eighth grade pupil is presented with an organized picture of what the war means to him, his family, his school, and his country. This course, which is required, but which carries no academic credit, grew out of an extra-curricular club last year, known as the War Information Club.

The course has as its chief aims to develop in the pupil:

1. An understanding of democratic principles and practices.
2. A knowledge of the causes and course of the present war.
3. An urge to contribute to the national effort, whether in war or in peace.

The present conflict affords an ideal core around which to build an integrated social studies course. The inherent interest of pupils in the war affords ample opportunities for motivation. Its global scope makes easy the inclusion of elements of geography, history, national and international government, and elementary economics. In fact modern war is in itself an exaggerated example of the inter-relationship of all peoples and all human endeavors.

The course outline, which is kept flexible, includes such units as:

1. What is Democracy?
2. Why Are We Fighting?
3. The United Nations
4. Army and Navy Personnel
5. Aircraft
6. Air Raid Defense
7. Production for War
8. Conservation of Materials
9. Transportation
10. Taxes and Money
11. Peace Plans
12. Latin America
13. The War in the Atlantic

Although no academic credit is given, the course is conducted as an essential academic course, with

notebooks, required assignments, and pupil participation. Visual aids are extensively employed. These include a systematic display and study of posters published by the Office of War Information. Sound motion pictures are obtained from the March of Time,<sup>1</sup> the British Library of Information, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the United States Navy. Another phase of the visual approach in this course is the study of the leading personalities on the national and international scene. Their pictures are projected with the opaque projector, the pictures being mostly *Time* magazine cover portraits, accumulated over a period of four years.

Books about the war appropriate to the junior high school level are appearing at intervals. These are used as the basis for individual pupil reports and, with the use of the opaque projector, for general class display. Among the useful volumes now available are the following:

*Democracy and Its Competitors*, and *Defense of the Western Hemisphere*, both by E. S. Kalp and R. A. Morgan (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1940, 1941). Prepared under the auspices of the North Central Association as guides for senior high school social studies teachers. They are adaptable for junior high school use.

*Insignia of the Services* by Paul Brown (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1941). Gives in illustrated form the insignia of all ranks of the armed forces.

*Oscar's First Air Raid*, by Lydia Mead (Dodd, Mead and Company, 1942). Presents in comic car-

toon form the common sense procedures in the event of air raids.

*Fighting Ships of the United States Navy* by Fletcher Pratt (Garden City Publishing Company, New York, 1941). A well illustrated volume describing the functions of the various fleet units.

*War in the Air—Fighting Planes and Pilots in Action*, by John B. Walker (Random House, New York, 1941).

*The United States Army*, by Lieutenant Colonel Earle C. Ewert (Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1941).

Most numerous of the books available at present on the junior high school level are those dealing with the air force and the navy, but others treating in a comprehensive way all of the many related problems of the war will undoubtedly be forthcoming.

Pupils are asked to keep in their notebooks significant clippings, a war diary, a record of their own contributions, maps, a list of the United Nations, and other pertinent information regarding the war effort. A periodic reference to the pupils' own efforts, in terms of the purchase of stamps and bonds, collection of scrap, construction of plane models for government use, messenger service, house to house campaigns, and other services, prove a spur to further effort. Constant use is made of periodicals, both newspapers and magazines such as *Time* and *Reader's Digest*.

Encouraging youngsters to bring in letters received from relatives in the service increases interest in the class. At any time the course seems to need a lift, lessons are introduced which have a particularly strong appeal, such as heroes of the war or stories of children in the war.

<sup>1</sup> March of Time films are not generally available to schools.

## Vitalizing Civics

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AND

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Civics may be a very dull and uninteresting subject or it may become a vital and realistic experience that may have a lasting influence in the development of enlightened citizenship. It was because of a desire to create the latter that the following plan of instruction in civics in the eighth grade of the Mound Junior High School, Columbus, Ohio was developed about six years ago. The procedures and techniques since that time have been changed and adapted to meet the needs and to improve the result but the original basic plan has proved its value above all ex-

pectation. This plan is presented not with the idea that it is perfect or superior, but that it has been a valuable means of accomplishing results that otherwise were difficult to achieve.

### THE PLAN

In brief, in teaching the eighth grade civics classes, the plan was to substitute a minimum of fifteen teacher-conducted "government study tours" each semester in all civics classes as the course of study in place of the usual textbook procedure. In this



way, the textbooks, library, and other aids became supplementary material, while the study tours became the curriculum.

#### UNIQUE LOCATION

It is admitted that the location of the school was ideal for this plan of procedure because of its location in the downtown section of the capital city of the state with the County Courthouse to the left, the State Capitol to the right, the City Hall and Federal Building nearly in front of the building. Moreover, these buildings are filled with important officials, friendly to the pupil tours, who are interested in the experiment of teaching government through personal experience. Because of this fortunate location, the classes could leave the classrooms, visit governmental offices and return to school work without interference or disturbance to other classes.

#### THE TOURS

The course of study for this plan of instruction consisted of a minimum of fifteen government tours each semester for all the civics classes of the eighth grade.

The range of tours scheduled were as follows:

##### *Study Government Tours*

1. Office of the Mayor.
2. The City Council.
3. The City Engineer, Treasurer, Prosecutor and Defender's Offices.
4. The Municipal Courts—Police Traffic and Civil.
5. The City Water Works.
6. The City Health Department and Library.
7. The City Prison.
8. The City Fire House.

##### *The County Government*

1. The County Court System—Probate, Criminal and Civil.
2. The Offices of Prosecutor, Clerk Recorder, Engineer, Sheriff, Auditor, Treasurer and Commissioner.
3. The Juvenile Center (Juvenile Court).

##### *The State Government*

1. The State Supreme Court.
2. The State Legislature.
3. The Offices of the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor and Treasurer.
4. The State Board of Health.
5. The State Department of Education.
6. The State Welfare Department.
7. The State Highway Department.
8. The State School for the Blind.

##### *The Federal Government*

1. The Income Tax Division.
2. The Post Office.
3. The Federal Courts.

The tours are regularly scheduled and planned by the classes and instructor at the beginning of the semester so that preparations may be completed and the tours taken in regular sequence. They give an opportunity for the pupils to observe government in action, to meet personally public officials, to hear talks by governmental officers, to ask questions, and to collect materials and printed matter for projects.

#### COOPERATION

In order to accomplish the desired results and to make adequate preparations for these tours, it is necessary that cooperation of many individuals and organizations be secured. In the first place, the schedule of the school is arranged by the principal so that the classes may leave the classroom in adequate time to make these tours without interruption to other groups. Furthermore, it is necessary that the government officials be consulted about the most appropriate time for the appearance of class groups at their offices. Extra chaperons from the list of Parent-Teachers' Association and other interested parents should be provided and arranged for according to schedule. Furthermore, the pupils need to plan in advance and to make adequate study of the important objectives of each of the trips. The schedule of dates and times of these tours is as carefully scheduled as other school activities and holds its place of priority in that respect.

#### PROCEDURE OF TOURS

While one object is to "go and see" government in action it is noticed that immediately a host of public officials, who are cooperative with the visitation become co-instructors in the course. However, pupils have been adequately prepared by the instructor before the tour is taken.

The pupils are first given the principles and procedures of government and, most important of all, the reason the people of the United States have established these various governments for their use, service and protection. Committees are formed within the class to perform certain functions while on the tour. One committee may secure literature and materials, another may interview certain officials with definite leading questions, while other committees will be prepared to express gracious appreciation for the kindly reception that has been accorded them. This is done in addition to a careful study of the branch of government to be visited so that pupils look forward to the experience with interested anticipation.

Every tour is started with a short session, where about seventy assembled pupils are reminded of their responsibilities as guests of the officials they are to visit. They are warned "no chewing gum"—it would be impolite; look directly at the speaker as he talks; be happy and enjoy yourself but do not attract undue attention; and observe the motto "N.T.T.P." which is a very good motto because it means "Never Trample the Tax Payers." In other words do not run over folks on the street and in every way do the right thing. It is important that everyone should have a pleasant time. There is no hint of scolding. If there is need for a little correction, the classroom, not the street, is the better place.

Since the government tour is only one part of a problem or project that involves library reading, oral and written reports of what the pupils have experienced, it is necessary for each student or committee to assemble the material and to get it ready for a report before the class or other classes according to the original aims and plan of the tour. This necessitates great freedom in the classroom. A student may feel free to go to the library, to secure material from the stacks of the supplementary references, to consult with the instructor or other pupils relative to details needing further investigation, to secure scissors, paste and other tools, and to continue his project in an informal, efficient manner. This very freedom brings responsibilities and training in citizenship.

#### INCIDENTS ON TOUR

On one tour a pupil who was making no effort in his work was told that the next time he could not go on the trip. However, the next tour was to the City Prison, a place to which he was very anxious to go. He begged for another chance to show better behavior and was given the privilege. The class was in the City Prison, and just about to leave the "show up" room when several detectives brought in seventeen prisoners. The detectives did not know their people very well and one of them spoke and said to the pupil: "Man, what are you doing over there? Get in line." The frightened pupil rolled his big

eyes as much as to say to the instructor, "Please tell this detective who I am." After the instructor explained who the boy was, he was so grateful that he never again caused trouble on a trip or even in the classroom.

One day, two little girls were going to the Capitol to secure some material for a project when one, seeing a dignified man come out of the State House, said: "There's the Governor." Said the other little girl: "No, I don't think so." The Governor said: "Oh yes it is." The girls were so surprised that they dropped their books. He helped get them together and introduced himself. Then they hurried away to report to the class their new experience.

#### OUTCOMES AND SUMMARY

The many outcomes of this plan of study tours are rather difficult to define. However, it seems evident that the pupils secure a better understanding of the original importance of, and reason for government. They discover their importance as future participants in government and are impressed with the need for intelligent citizenship. They are familiarized with the organization and procedures of government in a first hand way that appears to have greater lasting power than other procedures that have been tried.

Civics has suddenly changed from a dull, uninteresting subject to a vitalized experience in the life of the boys and girls in the classes. The conclusion of the work has greatly improved standards; tests show increased knowledge of the subject; the conduct and first-hand observation of the individual pupils shows evidence of improved citizenship. Government has become a reality to them. Reports from former pupils who have enjoyed this plan of instruction show that these tours have left a pleasant memory. Parental interest and participation in a worth-while school activity has been greatly increased. The cooperation of school officials, teachers, pupils, government officials and parents has been a marked result of this experiment and altogether it makes school a more happy and interesting place.

## Geographic Games and Tests

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Past numbers of THE SOCIAL STUDIES have contained series of geographic games and tests planned for courses in geography, history and the social studies in general. The series will be continued throughout the school year.

The difficulty of the games may be increased by

omitting the answers found at the bottom of some of them, by putting a time limit on the completion of them, or by assigning them simply for study. There will be about 100 games in the entire series so that there is provided a wide range from which selection to fit particular needs may be made.

## G. 55. AFRICA—IS IT TRUE?

Some of the following statements are correct; some are incorrect. Correct those that are wrong by changing a word or two. Do nothing with those which are now correct.

1. Among the continents Africa is characterized by a low average elevation.
2. At the extreme northern and southern extremities the continent is too wet; in the central part, too dry.
3. The large rivers of the continent are naturally well suited for navigation.
4. The coastline of Africa is notably irregular, affording many good natural harbors.
5. The north African coast gets most of its rainfall in winter.
6. The Sahara is about the same size as the United States.
7. Africa is the only continent which is practically cut in half by the equator.
8. Cape Town in July is having its winter season and its rainy period.
9. The Nile, unlike most rivers, decreases in volume at its mouth.
10. The gold from near Kimberley and the diamonds from near Johannesburg are valuable assets of South Africa.
11. The Gold Coast is the world's chief source of cacao.
12. The Congo and its tributaries possess more potential water power than any other river system in the world.
13. South Africa is handicapped by a small and rather uncertain rainfall.
14. The Suez Canal saves more distance for shipping between England and Australia than for that between England and India.
15. Africa is the only continent whose largest city is not a seaport.
16. The great commercial crop of Egypt is cotton.
17. Ships discharging cargo at Cape Town are likely to have to leave in ballast.
18. The Sahara is one of the great trade wind deserts.
19. As compared with the Amazon, the Congo is better suited for navigation.
20. The Congo region has a small annual range of temperature, but a very heavy rainfall.

## G. 56. AFRICA—THE RAW MATERIAL CONTINENT

Below is a list of African raw materials exported for manufacture. In column 2 name an important article made from the raw material; in column 3 name the region of Africa important as a producer of the raw material.

RAW MATERIAL	MANUFACTURED ARTICLE	PRODUCING AREA
1. Chromium ore		
2. Palm oil		
3. Raw cotton		
4. Angora wool		
5. Cacao beans		
6. Elephant tusks		
7. Rubber		
8. Graphite		
9. Rough diamonds		
10. Gold		
11. Phosphate rock		
12. Iron ore		
13. Copper ore		
14. Cork bark		
15. Olives		
16. Mahogany		
17. Cassava (manioc)		
18. Hides		
19. Radium ore		
20. Sisal		



# Revised Historical Viewpoints

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## ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE ABANDONMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The southern whites regained control of the South by 1876 because the political program of reconstruction had not produced the desired economic results. The withdrawal of the troops by Hayes did not end reconstruction, it was but a symbol of changed northern sentiment. The rosy hopes of welcome for northern capital and businessmen in the South after the Civil War had not been realized. Few northerners had any success for they found the courts antagonistic and that in general capital was not safe.

Some hopes were extended to northern capital by Governor Brownlow of Tennessee. He favored the entry of such capital to rebuild the state, as likewise did Virginia. Robert E. Lee, seeking aid in Washington for the building of railroads, visited Grant in the White House to assure him Virginia favored the Fifteenth Amendment and Negro suffrage.

Horace Greeley became a champion of the economic reconstruction of the South. He favored migration from the North, declaring several thousand settlers in each state would give victory to the Republicans. Yet the new agricultural opportunities in the West and tales of violence in the South deterred such migration. Greeley toured the Southwest in 1871 observing conditions which changed his mind and his policy on the South. He concluded that the South should be left to work out its own destiny by encouraging northern migration and by driving out the carpetbaggers. The high taxes of the latter governments discouraged the migration of capital from the North.

The Liberal Republicans adopted these ideas but the regular Republicans insisted that political control was necessary to protect migrating capital and people. The bad effects upon the moneyed interests of the country Greeley declared were to be seen in the fact that political strife between two rival carpet-bag governments in Louisiana in 1872, permitted its governor to sell its railroad interests without consulting the legislature.

Mounting taxes in Southern states plus the growing Granger movement of the West led many northerners to fear the rising power of the lower classes. They believed that the poverty of the South was due

to the carpetbaggers. With the rising opposition to this group came the hope that industrial development would proceed in the South if reconstruction were accepted, thus avoiding the carpetbaggers. Virginia was evidence of such a hope.

However, propaganda as to violence in the South, necessitating the presence of troops, stood in the way of a complete change of policy. This propaganda soon had less and less effect upon northern minds when Greeley's *New York Tribune* exposed an Alabama Congressman's story of atrocities in his state as untrue. In 1874 the Democrats won control of the House. Thus the public repudiated the political exploitation of the South. With the withdrawal of troops northern capitalists sought a policy of conciliating their former enemies. For example, a decade later, William B. McKinley visited Virginia pleading that it elect a protectionist to the Senate. He declared no one from the North would invest money to build a mill, or a factory, or develop coal and ore mines when Virginians voted against his interest.

## THE TARIFF AND RECONSTRUCTION<sup>2</sup>

Reconstruction had two phases: the South and its post-war problems and the tariff issue. A return of the South to the Union meant an alliance with the West which would be hostile to a high tariff policy. Some radicals in the Republican Party had honest convictions on the treatment of the South and the Negro but others used such radical policies to further their tariff ends. Contemporary opinion seems to have been that the South would use its restored power to oppose a protective tariff.

Northeastern radicals opposed Johnson's policies because they endangered protection. Brewer of Newport, Wendell Phillips, and Seymour of New York opposed readmission until the South supported the northern economic policies. Some radicals favored the repeal of the Constitutional prohibition on export taxes so as to keep a cheap cotton supply within the country as an advantage over foreign competitors. The Sumner and Stevens manuscripts in the Library of Congress amply demonstrate this fear of danger to the tariff in a readmitted South. The same view was expressed by the *New York Commercial and Financial Chronicle* July 7, 1866 and Governor Andrews of Massachusetts expressed the same views before the legislature on January 6, 1865. The *New*

<sup>1</sup> William B. Hesseltine, "Economic Factors in the Abandonment of Reconstruction," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (September 1935), 191-210.

<sup>2</sup> Howard K. Beale, "The Tariff and Reconstruction," *American Historical Review*, XXXV (January 1930), 276-294.

*York Tribune* several times in 1866 said the South could not be returned without safeguards for the tariff, as it would work for free trade to destroy the wealth producing industry of the loyal states.

That such a reduction might be made by the South in alliance with northern low tariff men is evidenced by the strong anti-tariff sentiment in the North. The *Chicago Tribune* in 1866 complained that the proposed high tariff rates would cut off all imports and reduce revenue from forty to seventy millions a year. However, this rising anti-tariff sentiment in the West was met by a lobby of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers under the guidance of John L. Hayes. He persuaded the wool growers to meet his association at a joint meeting at Syracuse in December 1865. The sheep raisers were persuaded to vote for a high tariff on wool and woolen manufacturers. Hayes got the conference to agree to a schedule which favored the manufacturers. A separate bill in 1866 made the work of this lobby a law. Its great achievement was that it brought the West to the support of the tariff.

Meanwhile northern opposition to the tariff continued. In the East, Bennett's *Herald* and Godwin's *Post* fought the tariff; the *Nation* and Godwin favored free trade. In July, 1866, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York petitioned Congress against the proposed tariff. In July 1865 a Free Trade League was founded in New York City by Bancroft, Lieber, Bryant, Godwin, Field and J. A. Roosevelt. In July, 1866, the House voted 95-52 for the new tariff. Sectionally the vote

was distributed as follows: New England and Pennsylvania 58 to 5 for the bill; the old Northwest 29-39 against it, 20 of the affirmative votes coming from the great wool and manufacturing states of Ohio and Michigan. If the full southern representation had been admitted there could have been 110 to 125 votes against the bill depending upon whether the old three-fifths rule of counting negroes for representation, or a full count was practiced. In the Senate the bill passed 27 to 10 whereas it might have been defeated 27-30 with full southern representation, if that section had been immediately and unconditionally readmitted on the close of the Civil War.

During the war the people had acquiesced in the high tariff as necessary for revenue to win the war. After the war they were imbued with the idea that it was necessary to pay the war debt. The farmer was induced to accept protection from Canadian wheat. In the 1866 elections the Conservatives did not make capital out of the fact that the tariff hurt the commercial and farming interests, and they did not reveal the purposes of the radicals. These, as ex-Governor Seymour of New York said in a speech October 30, 1866, endeavored to keep out the Southerners who would uphold the commercial and western farming interests. The Conservatives resolved to do nothing until the South was readmitted. As the election approached the radicals tabled the pending tariff bill. However, in their campaign they played it up in the East as a political issue and evaded it in the West.

## Guides to Problems in the Upper Elementary Grades

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If the questions being asked by teachers of the upper elementary grades concerning the social studies are any criteria these teachers are becoming more and more interested in the very fundamentals of education and of teaching. They are asking such questions as: What is the purpose of any education? Of any social studies education? Where are we, or where should we be going with our pupils in social studies? What guides are there for consideration when the value of what is being done is questioned? These problems are becoming especially urgent at

the moment when the exigencies of the immediate world situation tend to produce a sense of futility in the classroom teacher seriously concerned with the future welfare of the society of which she is a part.

Of all these questions the one concerning dependable guides or principles seems to be most urgent. To what can an average classroom teacher turn with faith when all is in a state of flux? Are there any hopeful guides?

For many centuries education has stressed the preservation and transfer of the culture from the old



to the young. This has been a fundamental task in social studies. For a much shorter period of time, some have been saying that education should also be an instrument for improving a culture, for making the living the young do and will do *richer* living; in other words, for promoting *desirable* change. Consequently, in the social studies or in any other work where there is an abundance of content material, the teacher should try to select for emphasis that material which tends to point toward an improvement in society. Who else in society could have a more just claim to leadership in social change than the teacher, unless it would be the church, say these modern prophets. Incidentally, they feel that both the church and the school have been defenders of a *status quo* and a conservative backward-lookingness which have created chains for the learner rather than liberation. Naturally this point could be debated. However, teachers must make a choice here whether they think so or not. Perhaps one needs to look backward *only* in order to go forward with less risk. Perhaps the social studies teacher's goal is constant change, experimentation, and improvement, rather than the conservation of a culture.

Such an over-all principle of "Education for Change," if it be accepted, has at least four supporting principles to help in teaching the social studies. The first is that both content and method must be as *experimental* as possible—recognized so by both the pupils and the teacher—seeking for the better, seeking for the unknown, and seeking to solve problems not yet solved rather than memorizing problems already solved by society. A second principle might be called the *experiential* principle. As far as possible and in as many related ways as possible, social studies teachers should want their pupils to have actual primary experience or contacts with the existences that are being dealt with in social studies. The varied meanings this principle has is clarified somewhat in its application to another principle which might be called the *principle of democracy*. In all social studies work the teacher should want to stress and to teach the meanings she conceives democracy to have. To achieve this, the teacher must create situations in her classroom which exemplify the application of *democratic* and *undemocratic* living. In other words, pupils can learn democracy only by living democracy—by having experiential contacts with the actual thing in miniature form—in the classroom, but also with continuous applications and generalizations relative to living in the outside world. Democracy in the out-of-school world can have no meaning for children unless the child actually experiences democracy—and on his level of understanding.

In turn, the principles of experiment, experience and democracy clarify the next principle, that of *personalized applications*. If the teacher cannot demonstrate and make her pupils feel that what they are learning in social studies is vitally affecting their lives here and now and will so affect their lives, if she cannot make them see and feel that their lives are being enriched, each single one in particular and in person, as a distinct individual, then her social studies is not what it should be. Incidentally, the meagerness of the results of a teacher's best efforts along this line certainly carry a deflating blow every time she tries to evaluate efforts along this line. A teacher merely has to ask periodically for examples from the children of behavior of theirs that has been different from what it would have been if they had not had a certain social studies experience or unit of study. If any given educational content or method results in no conceivable change in a person why study it? This question should offer a very disturbing challenge to social studies teachers.

The few basic ideas presented here may help to give some teachers direction for their social studies. (However, in actual practice they will have difficulty in finding means to apply these abstractions to specific facts or situations.) Still, they will want to have their pupils grow into adults who are overwhelmingly interested in continually improving their worlds, who are looking out beyond, who are not afraid to experiment and try new things, and who are seeking experiences which will make every succeeding experience ever richer and fuller. The sources of all these principles lie in the realm of a philosophy of life and education which each teacher must be evolving continuously.

There are other sources to which the teacher can turn when she begins to doubt her philosophy. She can look at the basic content of social studies and can see that she must be stressing continually the idea of social groups, people living and having lived and people to live together; also the idea of social inventions, tools to improve social living together, must be stressed. She can see, also, the basic ideas of conservation and adaptation. She must stress social studies that will develop an understanding of these four basic ideas. Again, when the validity of these basic ideas becomes wobbly in her mind, the teacher still can use others to help her evaluate the worthwhileness of her social studies. She may look at the world as appraisingly as she can. She sees needs in that imperfect one. She sees intolerance, hate, distrust, lack of cooperation, fear of the other fellow or group, lack of experience, inequality, mal-distribution, injustice, susceptibility to propaganda and to feeling, lack of rationality, lack of an understanding

of the nature of truth, and other evils. *She also should believe that she can see all of these in all their forms in her little social group.* And she should be just naïve enough to believe that one way to get people to live well together as adults is to attack continuously these adult problems in their embryo forms in the child social group.

Children are people and living well together is just as vital a problem to them as it is to adults. (Except, that many times the children have an unremovable adult present who just must run everything and do all the thinking and problem solving—if any problems ever are allowed to get to the group stage of consideration.) In fact a social studies program built solely on needs as basic problems, fully recognized by all concerned, pupils included, would make a splendid social studies program for all grades. But, for this kind of a program, our past conceptions of social studies teaching, our backward look, our unrecognized biases, our mores, our culture would be a great handicap.

So much for basic guides for social studies teaching. Can or how can these ideas be given specific applications in the areas of *social studies content*, *social studies materials*, and *social studies methods*? Must we scrap all that we are doing or are being forced to do? It may be that more could be achieved if we had a different social studies curriculum, other materials, and conceivably other methods. However, much more can be done by each of us even under the present limitations—more towards achieving the goals implied in the philosophy previously discussed.

The content of our history and geography texts may not stress changes that could be made in light of the knowledge contained in the texts. The content may not point to the future; it may not suggest experimentation, although history and geography are stories of man's experimentation; it may not offer primary experience, yet, every teacher's community and the lives of the children's families are full of relevant experiential matter. Moreover the teacher can set up in the classroom situations, the problems concerning which may be attacked more and more by the whole group as they have experience, even to selecting units or chapters to study or stress, as well as methods of study, questions, and evaluation. The content of the text may have no material levelled directly at the pupil showing him how he has the same problems as the characters in the book. The content may not stress any of these but teachers can. Again, the content may not stress economic ideas, sociological concepts, government or political science material, or current problems, yet teachers can relate all these to the text material and the text material

to all these—provided teachers keep up with the happenings in the world.

In regard to materials, it seems that teachers can do more. Specifically, teachers could have two sets of textbooks even under present state requirements. Or do teachers want all Americans to know exactly the same things—or can't we teach with two texts? Specifically, again, could not they correlate newspapers, the radio, magazines, class government, current events with the content of the texts. (Caesar Searchsinger does with history over the radio every Sunday night.) Teachers might be able to fuse more of geography, history, English, spelling, penmanship and art.

However, most can be done in the area of methods. One could call all education a method—one by which we learn to attack the problems we meet. It seems reasonably certain that teachers can do more than they now do in the area of class government in the elementary school, at least from the fourth grade. A class government should be set up slowly as need arises and the form should develop from the need and functions the children themselves see. The form itself should be the children's development. They cannot learn to live democratically over night. Democratic freedom must be earned, it is not a right. If granted wholesale, it leads to license. Children, if gradually given greater responsibility, can grow in selecting text content, choosing materials, and deciding on activities. They can learn to develop purposes and to evaluate their own learning. Adults do. Where did they learn this? By experience, but not generally under a wise teacher's guidance. Pupils should exchange their work, should work together on answers, and on panels. They should evolve questions, judge their work, set up their standards, and make applications to their daily and future lives. Teachers can let the strong help the weak more than they do, and they can have social studies activities not all based on reading. Incidentally most social studies texts are too difficult. Teachers should have some at least two grades below the class level and some above. They are available.

Then here are certain skills which are a special province of social studies. The same basic principles can be applied to them. For example, the ability to generalize and the experience of generalizing should be stressed throughout the social studies. In any one area the number of possible generalizations may be infinite. However, past facts do not in themselves point to generalizations, *especially to generalizations that point forward*. Goals, and principles should be such as would help to determine which generalizations to cull and which to stress. It might be well to remember the theory of education stressed here

calls for the best changes the teacher can at any moment conceive. Of course those future goals are subject to change as man's knowledge and experience broaden and point the way. Another needed skill in social studies is the ability to select facts that are relevant to any generalization. Another skill refers to interpreting pictures. This is exceedingly important in a world of picture magazines. Which pictures to stress in interpretative drills? Pictures with connotations pointing to a changed future! Another skill is the ability to recognize biases, first, second, and third person biases. Others refer to the use of an index, table of contents, glossary, references, atlases, almanacs, yearbooks. Again all these can be pointed better by reference to guiding principles.

A few miscellaneous items might be mentioned. Social studies teachers have difficulty in keeping their adult standards with their relative high degrees of accuracy from being the standards set for their pupils. To bring her values back to reality for

children, a teacher will find it extremely enlightening to let the class express a judgment on the quality of an item. Average children will neither set too low or too high a standard for achievement for themselves. Another weakness seems to be a periodic impatience with the lack of pupil progress in democratic practices. Teachers forget that pupils were not born democratic and that democratic learning is a gradual process like all other learning. Self discipline is not learned overnight. Sometimes teachers shy away from social problems of a personal type, or cheating, for example. These may be of the essence of social studies content. Another weakness is the failure to generalize again and again from particulars and back again. A kindred weakness is the failure to show relationships and interrelationships of social studies items with other items far and near in time and space beginning and ending in the realm of children's actual experiences.

## The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution

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So-called economic interpretations of the United States Constitution, whether old or new, have in the last twenty-five years stirred up considerable controversy. Many writers have accepted or rejected such interpretations with partisan positiveness. Others have tried to evaluate the claims of both opponents and proponents of these views and steered a shaky middle course. Frequently immature minds in our public schools have been instructed with texts that do not take objective ground, and therefore have no choice—unless they have an exceptional teacher—but to accept whatever "the book says."

A review of the nature of the controversy is timely. The teacher of the social studies might learn with profit whence arose this idea, some of its chief criticisms, and how it has influenced prominent historians. This, in brief, is what this paper essays to do. It will be noted immediately that the controversy over this subject hinges to a large extent on some of the writings of the eminent historian, Charles A. Beard. A portion of this account will be devoted to the works of this writer, works which are particu-

larly concerned with the problem of the interpretation of the Constitution.

In the last fifty years the economic aspects of history have won places of large prominence, a change due in part to the increased industrialization of the world, the importance of economic problems, and the development and spread of socialistic ideas. Economic interpretations, although many and old, do not assume real importance until the twentieth century, particularly, for American history when Charles A. Beard produced his *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913) in which he enunciated the belief that the direct, impelling force in framing the Constitution was the economic advantage that certain groups believed would come from the action of the framers. Fourteen years later, in 1927, Beard produced his *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, in which his earlier position is restated. In 1935 and 1941 editions of his publication of 1913 he expressed the view, with one or two changes, that the general thesis was still valid.



This paper is not designed to dissect completely the history of the period in which the Constitution was framed and ratified. Rather, it aims to present this much controverted thesis—the economic interpretation of the Constitution—so as to present the results of Beard's study and to mention some of the many adverse criticisms that have been made of it. Others' writings are available which treat others of Beard's writings;<sup>1</sup> this paper aims to treat but one phase of them.

To gain the proper sense of perspective in appraising Beard's thesis relative to the economic background of the Constitution attention should be called, first, to his own opinion (as of 1913) of the reason for, the nature of, and the shortcomings of his writing. At the beginning he acknowledges that his work is not complete. In considering the sources available for a complete study of the question, he frankly acknowledges that he has not been able to consider them all and indicates that there is yet much unexplored material in the Treasury Department, in the records of land offices, states, and counties that is awaiting the economic historian. He says: "The following pages are frankly fragmentary. They are designed to suggest new lines of historical research rather than to treat the subject in an exhaustive fashion."<sup>2</sup>

He attempts in general to apply the principles of economic determinism to American politics, and, specifically, in this work, to the formation of the Constitution. His point of view is that law does not just grow but is, rather, the result of conflicting social and economic forces which are brought into harmony by the Constitution. His fundamental postulate, then, in his own words is that "The whole theory of the economic interpretation of history rests upon the concept that social progress in general is the result of contending interests in society—some favorable, others opposed, to change."<sup>3</sup> It might be added here that the preface to Beard's 1935 edition (reprinted in the edition of 1941) should be read in full to correct some of the extreme views taken of his earlier work. He stresses in this preface that he has presented the results of his research and not material necessarily designed for the partisans of one cause or another.

The views are obviously a reaction to previous schools of historical thought, such as those which attribute phases of American history to peculiar gifts of the American genius; he does not claim to be the first in the field of economic determinism in Ameri-

can history, but believes that it has not been applied to American history at large and least of all to the field of private and public law.

With this background in mind it is now possible to trace the argument contained therein. The body of the book begins with the statement of the need for a new interpretation and the importance of the economic point of view. Next he divides the country in the 1780's into two large groups, one of which was made up of slaves, indentured servants, the mass of men, disfranchised by state property requirements, and women. On the other hand were the real property holders and the personal property group. The former was made up of small farmers (often debtors), manorial lords such as those on the banks of the Hudson, and the slaveholding planters of the South. The last group, more active than the real property group and "the dynamic element in the movement for the new Constitution,"<sup>4</sup> was made up of a large creditor group, holders of national and state securities, those interested in manufacturing and shipping, and those with capital in western lands.

Beard observes that a number of these groups were looking to the federal government for relief, observing that "... all standard treatises show conclusively that the legal system prevailing at the opening of 1787 was unfavorable to the property rights of four powerful groups above enumerated."<sup>5</sup> He explains further that their interests were fused by correspondence and by increasing recognition of the desperate straits in which certain men were placed. Later, Beard tentatively concludes that capital as opposed to land was adversely affected by the government under the Articles of Confederation, that capital interests had failed in the state legislatures to secure their desired ends, and, therefore, they turned to "revision" of the Articles of Confederation with the hope of a revolutionary program outside the existing legal framework.

Concerning the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention the point is made that safeguards existed for property in the election of delegates. These representatives to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 were to be elected by the state legislatures in which the freehold property holders of the country were over-ruled by urban and allied interests. A majority of the states at that time placed direct property qualifications on the voters while the others eliminated as voters practically all non-tax-payers.

There follows a presentation of what must have been very painstaking research to discover what were the economic interests of the members of the Philadelphia Convention. At least a paragraph is devoted

<sup>1</sup> Such as M. Kraus, *A History of American History* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937).

<sup>2</sup> C. A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913), p. v.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

to each of the members, and in summing up the results of these findings Beard concludes that: A majority of the members were lawyers by profession, most of the members came from towns on or near the coast, that is, he states, where personalty was largely concentrated. Not one of the members represented in immediate personal economic interests the small farming or mechanic classes, and at least five-sixths of the delegates were immediately, directly, and personally interested in the outcome of their labors at Philadelphia and were economic beneficiaries from the adoption of the Constitution.<sup>6</sup> In a summary of his findings he further concludes that public security interests were represented by forty of the fifty-five members of the Convention, that personalty invested in lands for speculation was represented by fourteen members, that personalty in the mercantile, manufacturing, and shipping lines by eleven members, and that personalty invested in slaves by fifteen members. His concluding observation for this chapter is that the members were not disinterested for "... they knew through their personal experiences in economic affairs the precise results which the new government that they were setting up was designed to attain."<sup>7</sup>

In the sixth chapter Beard analyses parts of the Constitution to stress certain economic aspects of that document. To this end he points to the national control of both domestic and foreign trade and to the limits on the states through denying them, for example, the right to issue paper money and the right to pass laws that might violate contracts.

After a section on the political views of the members he presents material on the ratification of the Constitution. He believes that approval by state conventions rather than legislatures was used so that the unanimous vote required by the Articles of Confederation could be avoided and the states curbed. Concerning the actual process of ratification there are six major conclusions. These are: (1) Two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, refused to ratify the Constitution until after the new government was launched and then were compelled to do so by powerful economic forces. (2) In three states, New Hampshire, New York, and Massachusetts, the popular vote—measured by the election of delegates to the conventions—was adverse to the Constitution, and that ratification in these states was secured by the conversion of the delegates. (3) In Virginia the popular vote was doubtful. (4) In four states, Connecticut, New Jersey, Georgia, and Delaware, ratification took place quickly; little time was allowed between the meeting of the legislature and the election of delegates. Possibly the opposition was

not allowed time to develop. (5) In Maryland and South Carolina action resulted in a majority undoubtedly in favor of ratification. (6) In Pennsylvania "... the proceedings connected with the ratification ... [were] ... conducted with unseemingly haste."<sup>8</sup>

As to the popular vote on the Constitution, Beard believes it was the work of a small, active, and interested minority and not a creation of the whole people. About 160,000 voters, that is, five per cent of the population, expressed an opinion on the Constitution; of these 100,000, or one in every six adult males, favored adoption. As to the geographic distribution of the vote and the classes voting, he states that the movement for ratification, supported by many large security holders, came from areas where mercantile, manufacturing, security, and personalty interests were strong, whereas opposition came from agricultural and cheap money areas. Referring to the supporting groups he says: "... this economic interest must have formed a very considerable dynamic element, if not the preponderate element, in bringing about the adoption of the new system."<sup>9</sup> Finally, he cites Marshall's *Life of Washington*, as the testimony of a contemporary, to show that many reasons for and against ratification were superficial, that the struggle was fundamentally between the property-holder and the non-property-holder, and that mercantile interests had extreme difficulty under the Articles of Confederation. Further, the faith of public creditors was lost, and in each state distinct parties (paper money and agrarian, mercantile and financial) had resulted. Thus, he believes, "... so sharp was the division into two parties on the lines of divergent views of property rights, that the Constitution, far from proceeding from 'the whole people,' barely missed defeat altogether."<sup>10</sup>

For general uses his final conclusions are of greatest value. Such a summary is as follows: There were four groups of personalty interests, adversely affected under the Articles of Confederation, which originated and carried through the movement for the Constitution; these were money, public securities, manufactures, and trade and shipping. The first steps were taken by a small, active group immediately interested through their personal possessions in the outcome. There was no popular vote taken, directly or indirectly, on the proposal to call the convention which drafted the Constitution. The members of the Philadelphia Convention were, generally, immediately, directly, and personally interested in and derived economic advantages from the establishment of the new system. "The Constitution

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 299.

was essentially an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities."<sup>11</sup> The majority of the members of the Convention are on record as recognizing the claim of property to a special position in the Constitution. In the process of ratification, three-fourths of the males did not participate because of disfranchisement and indifference. The Constitution was ratified by a vote of not more than one-sixth of the adult males. "It is questionable whether a majority of the voters participating in the elections for the state conventions in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia, and South Carolina, actually approved the ratification of the Constitution."<sup>12</sup> The leaders in the state conventions represented the same economic groups as were in the Philadelphia Convention and often had a personal interest in the outcome of their efforts. In the process of ratification, there exists a clear cleavage for and against the new document between the substantial personalty interests, and the small farming and debtor interests.

Beard's final observation in this work is that "The Constitution was not created by 'the whole people' as the jurists have said; neither was it created by 'the state' as Southern nullifiers long contended; but it was the work of a consolidated group whose interests knew no state boundaries and were truly national in their scope."<sup>13</sup>

In a later work, Beard restates the position originally enunciated in 1913.<sup>14</sup> In this account he states nothing new, but goes on to say that the capitalistic group, as opposed to the agrarian, which favored ratification of the Constitution, included a number of outstanding men and groups. Among them was Washington whose words in a letter to Jefferson are quoted; according to this letter Washington "'assigned the satisfaction of the claims of the public creditors as the chief reason for the adoption of the Constitution.'"<sup>15</sup> In this capitalist group Beard next includes numerous holders of the public debt who waged a campaign for the Constitution's adoption. In this connection he cites the opinion of Chauncey Goodrich, a Federalist of Connecticut, whom he calls a capable observer, who believed that without the support of the creditors the government under the Constitution would not have been formed and would have languished. Further, Beard quotes from Hamilton's writings to show that he "distinctly

avowed" that the public creditors "were very influential" and capitalistic interests were "very weighty" in securing the adoption of the Constitution.<sup>16</sup> Beard believes that although other contemporaries stressed other features of the new document, they "... agreed that it (i.e., the conflict over ratification) had been primarily economic in character."<sup>17</sup> Here Beard cites the words of Fisher Ames, a Massachusetts representative in the first United States Congress under the Constitution, who said in the House on March 28, 1789 "I conceive, sir, that the present Constitution was dictated by commercial necessity more than any other cause."<sup>18</sup>

To reply further to the storm of protest which his earlier work had stirred up, Beard cites statements made by historians of the previous one hundred years to show that his so-called economic interpretation was not new in 1913. He restates John Marshall's opinion already referred to in his earlier writing and opines that Hildreth in his *History of the United State*, published in 1856 reached the same conclusions as had Marshall by stating that "... in most of the towns and cities, and seats of trade and mechanical industry, the friends of the Constitution formed a very decided majority. Much was hoped from the organization of a vigorous national government and the exercise of extensive powers vested in it for the regulation of commerce."<sup>19</sup> Beard next cites the quotations from the writings of John Adams and finally quotes from Professor O. G. Libby to show that the support for the Constitution came from the centers of capitalistic interest, and that the opposition came from agrarians and those burdened with debts.<sup>20</sup>

Somewhat caustically, Beard concludes his remarks concerning the storm that his interpretation had stirred up by observing that "It is curious that this volume (i.e., the one of 1913) raised such a storm of criticism in certain quarters when the leading ideas set forth in it had long been accepted by students of the economic aspects of history."<sup>21</sup>

## II

Such an economic interpretation of the Constitution has affected the views of writers of history in varying degrees. It is not the purpose of this account to survey all these effects. However, mention will be made, in this section, of two writers whose works seem to support the Beard thesis. James T.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>14</sup> C. A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927).

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> O. G. Libby, *Geographical Distribution of the Vote on the Constitution in the Thirteen States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1894).

<sup>21</sup> C. A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 9 (note 2).



Adams, historian of New England, stresses the importance of the economic factor in launching the new government.<sup>22</sup> His work in which this emphasis is notable is devoted to New England and does not refer more than occasionally to other sections of the country. He believes that although the political aspects of the new government called forth some discussion, "the economic factors were in reality the determining ones in its (the Constitution's) adoption."<sup>23</sup> Rather than regard it as a sacred document, incapable of further change, Adams would have it regarded "... as a remedy for the evils of a specific economic situation, that of the disturbed post-revolutionary decade of a century and a half ago."<sup>24</sup> He says that "It was based on the antagonisms of the mercantile and agrarian groups of the day, as is clearly brought out in the *Federalist*, and both groups fought for their own interests."<sup>25</sup> His point of view, then, is that in the movement for and the adoption of the Constitution the economic factor was paramount. It should be noted, however, that he bases his conclusions on Beard's; he presents no further evidence to substantiate the latter's conclusions.

Another more recent work seems to accept Beard's economic interpretation of the Constitution and, perhaps, to state it in more conclusive terms. In *The Triumph of American Capitalism* Louis M. Hacker does not seem to state anything new. He undertakes, rather, in his work to make clear that many commonly accepted beliefs of the post-revolutionary period are not sound and that the class interest theory is the only acceptable one. He follows Beard closely in his argument and in essence believes that the Constitution was the creation of the capitalistic upper classes desiring to entrench themselves, more specifically "... that special groups, associated with the large property rights of land speculation, security investment, banking, manufacturers, the fur trade, and foreign commerce ... wanted a greater measure of political stability than either the Articles of Confederation or the really sovereign states afforded."<sup>26</sup> He believes that the fear of the levelling spirit of the war days galvanized the propertied groups into action when, in the middle 1780's, violence broke out in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Thus the Philadelphia Convention met to devise a new frame of government for a centralized state, to express the interests of the upper, not the under, classes. In concluding this section of his book, he follows Beard's reasons for ratification of the new Constitution by state conventions rather than state legislatures.

### III

A number of criticisms of Beard's thesis have appeared since 1913. In general, such criticisms seem to be of two types. Some are direct attacks on the conclusions he had drawn; others criticize by implication. The latter class refers to those many accounts of the Critical Period which stress other features than the economic or devote much less attention to this interpretation than have Beard, Hacker, and others. Such an account, to single out one, is that by Hockett;<sup>27</sup> this author, although he devotes some space to presenting the economic background of the Constitution and cites quotations from members to substantiate his point of view, believes that the Constitution forms a synthesis of elements from the English background, put into a new combination. He does not believe the new government was democratic, but was a middle-class liberal one. A book of quite another type stresses the role played by the previous century and a half of preaching by New England ministers.<sup>28</sup> This latter points to a hitherto unstressed source of American constitutional development.

Of the direct attacks on Beard's interpretation of the Constitution, several occurred in book reviews published soon after the appearance of his book. E. S. Corwin takes the economic interpretation generally and some of Beard's figures specifically to task.<sup>29</sup> First, in considering Beard's figures that forty of the fifty-five members of the convention held Federal securities from 1779 to 1799, to the extent of \$450,000, Corwin observes that probably one-third of this amount was in the form of state securities and that of the remaining, two-thirds, or \$300,000, belonged in the holdings of five men (McClurg, Dayton, Gerry, Johnson, and Langdon). Of these five men, he continues, two were quite inconspicuous at the convention and one (Gerry) was an outstanding opponent of the new plan of government. This criticism continues by stating that five "admitted" leaders (Hamilton, Madison, Gouverneur Morris, Wilson, and Charles Pinckney) had only \$14,000 worth of securities. Corwin believes that these securities acquired value not because of the work of the Constitutional Convention so much as through the application of Hamilton's financial policies.

Corwin sums up his view of Beard's position by stating that "... Professor Beard's whole argument rests upon a totally unallowable assumption."<sup>30</sup> He says that before the meeting of the convention seven members held less than \$90,000 worth of securities and that Gerry, an opponent of the work in Phila-

<sup>22</sup> J. T. Adams, *New England in the Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1926).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>26</sup> L. M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940), p. 183.

<sup>27</sup> H. C. Hockett, *The Constitutional History of the United States, 1776-1826* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939).

<sup>28</sup> A. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1928).

<sup>29</sup> Book review by E. S. Corwin, *History Teachers' Magazine*, V (February 1914), 65-66.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

delphia, held two-thirds of this amount. Carrying his analysis further, Corwin, while acknowledging that the protection of property against attack was avowed by the members of the convention, says that this position had been recognized by nineteenth century American historians. Further, he believes that Beard's implication that the convention and its proceedings formed a coup d'état is quite unsound; Corwin shows that the movement for the Constitution was twice sanctioned by the state legislatures, by the Congress of the Confederation, by the convention that framed the Constitution and by popularly chosen ratifying conventions. To answer Beard's statement that the Constitution was not ratified by popular approval, Corwin says that for Massachusetts, from which state the only adequate figures are available, only one-fifth of the male adults were kept from voting by property qualifications.

Another reviewer of Beard's book goes further in his criticism.<sup>31</sup> Professor Latané reviewed the latter's publication in the same article with Farrand's *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States* which appeared in the same year. He calls the former "... a deliberate attempt to upset all our traditional ideas as to the motives and purposes of the men who framed our national government."<sup>32</sup> With reference to the question of the appreciation of government bonds, he states that the holders of such bonds would have improved their position by any change and that, too, the position of people not holding government bonds was improved by the adoption of the Constitution. He does not believe Beard had proved his point of the influence of financial interests of members of the convention on their actions and that "the main defect in Dr. Beard's book is that he does not undertake to test his theory by analysing the votes taken in the convention on specific questions."<sup>33</sup> Latané includes Corwin's criticism by pointing out that many men supported a strong government who held none or only few securities, whereas some of the largest holders were opposed to its formation.

Latané concludes his observation on Beard's position by saying that "... the tendency of Dr. Beard's economic interpretation is to reduce everything to a sordid basis of personal interest." He continues by wondering whether Beard is not applying concepts of present-day problems to the concepts of the past. He says "... it will require more convincing evidence than Dr. Beard has so far presented to upset the traditional view that the members of the federal convention were patriotic men earnestly striving to arrive at the best political solution of the dangers

that threatened the republic which was still in the experimental stage."<sup>34</sup>

Professor Chester W. Wright, reviewing Beard's thesis from the point of view of an economist, begins by presenting some of the outstanding of Beard's facts. He then directs three major criticisms at his thesis. These are that Beard's attention is focussed only on certain phases of the period while the entire economy of the period and its background should be studied, that "... there is no attempt to answer the question as to the interpretation of the Constitution. . . . Nowhere is any effort made to weigh the relative importance of the forces seeking political freedom, religious liberty, or material gain,"<sup>35</sup> and that the reason why the government took its representative form was to cure the anarchy into which the Revolution was degenerating and lies deep in the colonial background and not alone in economics.

#### IV

Several obvious conclusions may be drawn from this presentation of the nature of the economic interpretation of the United States Constitution and various arguments for and against it. In the first place, it seems clear that more data about the economic interest of the leaders of the Philadelphia Convention is needed if the economic interpretation is to be firmly established. Then, this leads to the difficult question of determining whether it is possible, by the methods now at the disposal of the historian, to determine the human motives back of such an important undertaking as was the framing and the launching of the new Constitution. Perhaps it cannot be done. There is the danger, too, as already mentioned in this paper, of reading into past epochs present-day meanings. Classes may have existed in 1787. There may or may not be reason to suppose that they had developed class-consciousness.

Probably the safest position to take at this moment is neither one of wholehearted acceptance or rejection of Beard's thesis, but rather to assume a middle ground which recognizes this idea as important and significant and as containing a large element of truth, but as one that is only part of a total complex picture. Possibly this is now Beard's point of view, for he said sometime later: "The heritage, economics, politics, culture, and international filiations of any civilization are so closely woven by fate into one fabric that no human eye can discern the beginnings of its warp or woof. And any economic interpretation, any political theory, any literary criticism, any aesthetic appreciation, which ignores this perplexing fact, is of necessity superficial."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 700.

<sup>32</sup> Book review by C. W. Wright, *Journal of Political Economy*, XXII (May 1914), 494.

<sup>33</sup> C. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, two volumes (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), I, 124.

<sup>34</sup> Book review by J. H. Latané, *American Political Science Review*, VII (November 1913), 697-700.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 697.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 699.

# Illustrative Materials for the Classroom

FLORENCE BERND<sup>1</sup>

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In offering this series of articles combining source material, music and art, there has been a fourfold purpose:

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It may be said that this is no untried plan. It was used over a long period with ninth grade boys to whom one might doubt its appeal, but on the contrary and perhaps a bit disconcerting to the teacher, it is a fact that after many years, these boys, grown into mature men have remembered the music and the picture and the contents of the source, when they have forgotten the name of the textbook.

## THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime Harold returned from the battle

with the Norwegians, happy at having conquered. . . . When the news of the arrival of the Normans reached him, he proceeded to Hastings, though accompanied by very few forces. No doubt the fates urged him on, as he neither summoned his troops, nor, had he been willing to do so, would he have found many ready to obey his call; so hostile were all to him, because he had appropriated the northern spoils entirely to himself. He sent out some persons, however, to reconnoiter the number and strength of the enemy. When these were captured and taken within the camp, William ordered them to be led among the tents, and after feasting them plentifully, to be sent back uninjured to their lord.

On their return, Harold inquired what news they brought. After relating what had befallen them, they added that almost all of William's army had the appearance of priests, as they had the whole face, with both lips, shaven. For the English leave the upper lip unshorn, suffering the hair continually to increase; which Julius Caesar, in his treatise on the "Gallic War," affirms to have been a national custom with the ancient inhabitants of Britain. Harold smiled at the simplicity of the relators, observing, with a pleasant laugh, that they were not priests, but soldiers, strong in arms and invincible in spirit.

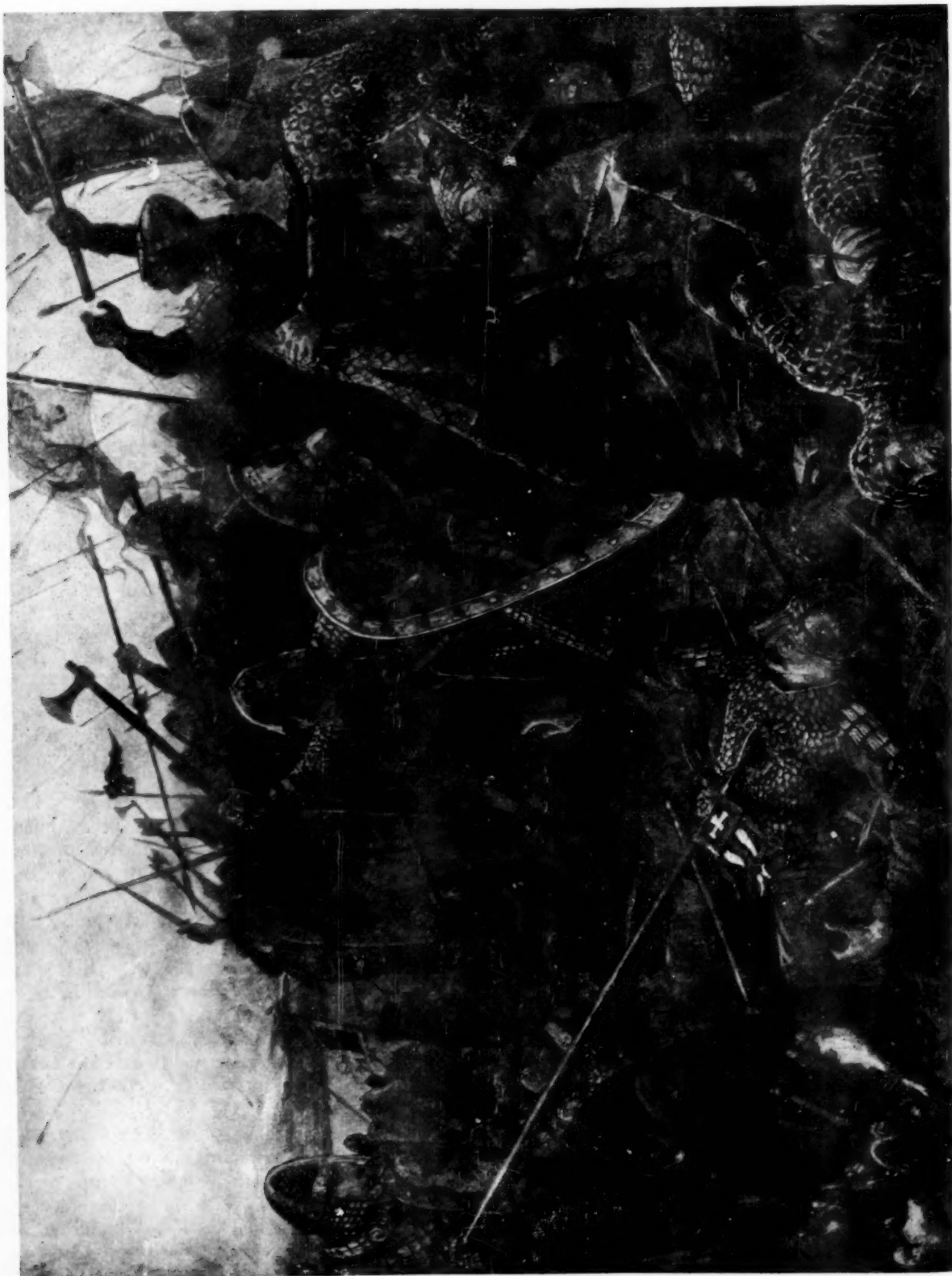
Harold's brother, Girth, a youth on the verge of manhood, and of knowledge and valor surpassing his years, caught up his words: "Since," said he, "you extol so much the valor of the Norman, I think it ill-advised for you, who are his inferior in strength, to contend with him. Nor can you deny being bound to him by oath, either willingly or by compulsion. Wherefore you will act wisely, if you withdraw from this pressing emergency and allow us to try the issue of a battle. We, who are free from all obligation, shall justly draw the sword in defense of our country. If you engage, it is to be feared that you will be either subjected to flight or to death. If we alone fight, your cause will be safe at all events, for you will be able both to rally the fugitives and to avenge the dead."

The unbridled rashness of Harold yielded no placid ear to the words of his adviser. He thought it base, and a reproach to his past life, to turn his back on danger of any kind. With similar impudence, or to speak more favorably, imprudence, he drove away

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<sup>2</sup> Hutton Webster, *Readings in Early European History* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company), pp. 342-345. Used with permission. The source of this material is William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Regum Anglorum," Book III.





HAROLD'S LAST STAND AT SENLAC



## WAR SONG \*

Words adapted by R. L. DE PEARSALL

Ancient Tune

1. On, gen-tle Nor-mans! Think of Ro-land! Fair is his guerdon, who dies on the field!

Bless-ed and ho-nour-ed, here and here-af-ter, Lives e'en in death the man who scorns to yield.

2. Nev-er in dan-ger Quailed our fa-thers, Free and un-daunt-ed They sought out re-nown!

3. Ho-nour in-vites us! Who can re-fuse her? No Nor-man war-rior Would shun jeo-par-dy!

Let us then prove our-selves wor-thy of Ro-land! On, gen-tle Normans, we strike for a crown!  
Ro-land's great spi-rit looks down on our standards, Beckons us on-ward to Vic-to-ry.

*Repeat D.S., last stanza*

\* From "The Modern Music Series," Fourth Book, p. 216, published by Silver Burdett Company, New York.

a monk, the messenger of William, not deigning him even a complacent look and swearing that God would decide between himself and the duke. The monk was the bearer of three propositions: either that Harold should relinquish the kingdom, according to his agreement; or hold it of William; or decide the matter by single combat in the sight of either army. For William claimed the kingdom on the ground that King Edward, by the advice of Stigand the archbishop and of the earls Godwin and Siward, had granted it to him, and had sent the son and nephew of Godwin to Normandy as sureties of

the grant. If Harold should deny this, he would abide by the judgment of the Pope, or by battle. William's messenger, being frustrated by the single answer to all of these propositions, returned and communicated to his party fresh spirit for the conflict.

The courageous leaders prepared for battle, each according to his national custom. The English passed the night without sleep, in drinking and singing; and in the morning proceeded without delay against the enemy. All were on foot and were armed with battle-axes. Covering themselves in front by the

junction of their shields, they formed an impenetrable body. They would have secured their safety that day had not the Normans, by a pretended flight, induced them to open their ranks. . . . King Harold himself stood with his brothers near the standard, in order that, while all shared equal danger, none might think of retreating. This same standard William sent, after his victory, to the Pope. . . .

The Normans passed the whole night in confessing their sins and received the sacrament in the morning. Their infantry, with bows and arrows, formed the vanguard, while their cavalry occupied the rear. Duke William, declaring that God would favor his side, called for his arms. When, through the haste of his attendants, he had put on his hauberk the rear part before, he corrected the mistake with a laugh, saying, "My dukedom shall be turned into a kingdom." Then, beginning to chant the Song of Roland, and calling on God for assistance, the Normans engaged their foes.

They fought with ardor, neither side yielding ground, for the great part of the day. William now gave the signal to his troops that, by pretending flight, they should retreat. Through this device the close body of the English, opening for the purpose of cutting down the straggling enemy, brought upon itself swift destruction. For the Normans, facing about, attacked them, thus disordered, and compelled them to flee. In this manner, deceived by a stratagem, they met an honorable death in avenging their country; nor indeed were they at all without

their own revenge, since, by frequently making a stand they slaughtered their pursuers in heaps. . . . This alternation of first one party conquering, and then the other, prevailed as long as the life of Harold continued, but when he fell, his brain having been pierced with an arrow, the flight of the English ceased not until night.

In this battle the valor of both leaders was eminently conspicuous. Harold, not content with the duty of a general in exhorting others, diligently assumed every duty of a soldier. He would often strike the enemy when coming to close quarters, so that none would approach him with impunity; for immediately the same blow leveled both horse and rider. But, as I have related, after receiving the fatal arrow from a distance, he yielded to death. One of the Normans gashed his thigh with a sword, as he lay prostrate; for which shameful and cowardly action the Norman was branded with ignominy by William and dismissed from the army. William was equally ready to encourage his soldiers by his voice and by his presence, and to be the first to rush forward to attack where the foe was thickest. Three choice horses were that day killed under him. The dauntless spirit and vigor of the intrepid leader still persisted, however, . . . till approaching night crowned him with complete victory. No doubt the hand of God so protected him, that the enemy should draw no blood from his person, though they aimed many javelins at him.

## Historiography and World War II

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The intrinsic nature of history and historical method precludes anything beyond speculative consideration of the future. It does not follow, however, from such an axiomatic statement that historiography should fail to anticipate a developing problem already marked by the present as inevitable, particularly when the problem gives every indication of overshadowing all others in the years that lie immediately ahead. The question will assume a role no less significant than it played in the generation after Versailles. It is destined to become a focal point of historical attention, involving, as it does, a degree of social responsibility from which the historian can never hope to escape. It reappears in a familiar guise and its statement has all too familiar a ring—the *Kriegsschuldfrage*.

It has often been urged that the legitimate sphere of historiography is explanation and not judgment. But few are the historians who have not judged and simple narration has invariably resulted in colorless history. Mere effort to determine causation, motivation and significance of past events involves judgment. It is only natural that men who are trained to compile and criticize evidence will formulate judgment on the basis of such evidence. Humanity itself becomes the victim of world conflict and when the universal question of war responsibility arises, it is only proper that the historian should attempt to answer it.

No one, conversant with the canons of historical scholarship, will be sanguine enough to expect a definitive account of the origins of the Second World

War when the signatures on the peace treaties have not yet had time to dry. Indeed, the nature of the peace might well determine the nature and scope of historical inquiry, for a triumphant totalitarianism could scarcely countenance free investigation. Granting the possibility of unrestricted inquiry, it is well to recall that ten years elapsed between the Armistice of 1918 and the publication of Sidney B. Fay's *Origins of the World War*, and this despite the fortuitous circumstances of the early post-war period that placed before the historian a representative quantity of essential source material long before precedent gave him any right to expect it. Harry Elmer Barnes' *Genesis of the World War*, appearing in 1926, performed a real service in pioneering the cause of war guilt revision, yet, based upon inadequate sources, it quickly became obsolete. The greatest work of William L. Langer (*European Alliances and Alignments, 1871-1890, 1931; The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902, 2 vols., 1935*) remains today still incomplete. At the present writing there exists some probability that the archives will be thrown open shortly after the peace, but admittedly there is little cause for optimism. What the future of France may be, none would care to venture now, but it is conceivable that a non-republican order might not be averse to an early disclosure of the secrets of the Third Republic, already discredited by events beyond the power of documents to add or detract. If the *Reichswehr* should inherit the power of a fallen Hitlerism, some hitherto undisclosed chapters in the history of the Nazi movement might well see the light of day. Neither is it unlikely that Japanese moderates would be unwilling to turn the searchlight upon the tawdry record of the Supreme Command. Today, however, these possibilities remain in the field of speculation.

It seems a tenable assumption to suggest that the difficulties obstructing the path of scholarly investigation after Versailles will be encountered again, in outline somewhat modified but in essence much the same. Difference promises to be in degree rather than in kind. Among the obstacles to historical investigation of the origins of the First World War the following were of paramount importance: depth of chronological background; scope of the conflict; the linguistic problem; documentary falsification; the exculpating personal account (e.g., diaries and memoirs); propaganda and, finally, the question of bibliographical inaccessibility. The historian will do well in preparing himself to surmount these barriers again.

The roots of world conflict lie deeply embedded in the soil that nourished them. The more thorough the historian, the more is he prone to seek causation far removed in time. He cannot escape the sense of

continuity that years of training have made a part of him. While he might desire to begin his account with the perversity of human nature manifested in the Garden of Eden, practical considerations will dictate inaugurating his study with the Versailles Peace Conference, unless he accepts the thesis that the second World War is but a continuation of the first, in which case he ought to go back to 1870 and, incidentally, begin searching for a collaborator or two.

In point of chronological coverage the historian of the Second World War should apparently find his responsibility lighter than that of his immediate predecessor. Reconstruction of the twenty years between 1919-1939 would seem far simpler than attempting the same task over the forty-four years between 1870-1914. But the advantages flowing from brevity of time are more than neutralized by the difficulties flowing from complexity of subject matter. Not only did the Versailles settlement complicate the plot by extending the *dramatis personae* but the action was infinitely more intensive and swifter in tempo. If Poles and Czechs had to be considered as people before 1914, Poland and Czechoslovakia did not. If the Schlieffen Plan was essentially "blitz" strategy in the mode of the time, at least pre-1914 diplomacy maintained some semblance of morality compared with that which followed the eve of Munich.

Dramatic action is necessarily conditioned by the setting on which it plays. In some respects the Seven Years' War (1756-63) might be called the first world war, though this title, by common consent, has been reserved for the struggle of 1914-18. The present war vastly transcends in scope its earlier namesake. In the last struggle the Far East saw little action; nations such as Japan, China, India, Australia and New Zealand played roles, which if active by the standards of that time, seem almost passive today. This was even more true of South America and Africa, though the latter was the locale of colonial conflict. But December 7, 1941, marks the advent of world war in the fuller meaning of the term. The very magnitude and scope of the conflict will dissuade all but the most courageous among those who aspire to tell the history of its origins. The task will demand the blending of temperament and rich background of experience possessed by only a few. Whether it can be done with reasonable detachment is also debatable, for detachment, never a goal easily attained, becomes yet more difficult when incompatible ideals clash. No historian will readily forget what Naziism did to orthodox historical inquiry and teaching. Can he treat with equanimity a philosophy that sought to destroy the very tools and methods of his craft?

If analysis of the evidence on the origins of the



present conflict is to escape charges of superficiality, it will make linguistic demands surpassing the talents of any but the most accomplished scholar of modern languages. This means intensive specialization outside the field of history itself. Once the evidence has been made available, considerable time must elapse before extensive translations, highly exacting in character, can be made. No one has the right to expect a man to be a competent historian of world-wide antecedents and a master of English, German, French, Spanish, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Czech, Polish, Roumanian, Hungarian, South Slavic, Greek, Japanese and the numerous dialects of the Near East, southern Asia, China and India as well. Diplomatic messages sometimes place a premium upon the niceties of words. More than likely the definitive history of the origins of the war, when it appears, will be the product of joint scholarship, resting upon a host of monographic studies. Here, if ever, lies a call for superlative editing. If clear cut judgments on war responsibility can be achieved, the historical profession must somehow arrive at a unanimity of opinion far surpassing any previous accomplishments in that domain. Only devotion to the highest ideals of historical scholarship, removed from the nationalistic influence, would appear to offer much hope of attaining such an objective.

Scarcely had the opening shots been fired in 1914 before the belligerent governments began the publication of the "color books," intended to establish the innocence of one and by implication the guilt of another. Though some regarded them with suspicious eye, it was not until post-war disclosures that the element of falsification was clearly demonstrated. It has well been said that anything can be proved by history if one is careful of what is inserted in the text and, oftentimes, even more careful of what is omitted. In view of the incomplete evidence of the moment the "color books," skillfully edited, sounded convincing. The present war, too, inaugurated a "battle of the books," as British Blue Books and German White Papers put in an early appearance. The nazis had an uncanny faculty of "discovering" incriminating documents as they occupied capital after capital in Europe; these were immediately published and purported to disclose the sinister machinations of Germany's enemies. No competent scholar of established reputation, however, was allowed to pass upon the authenticity of these documents nor to certify that, if authentic, they were published without editing of content. The documentary evidence on the origins of the present war rests today in the hands of the few who tenant the Foreign Offices; they obviously know only part of the story for no Foreign Office has all the pieces that make up the puzzle. Those who do know a part of the story can be depended upon to keep silence, otherwise they would not be in the Foreign Office.

The scholar who probed responsibility for the First World War in due time had more reason to complain about superabundance of source material rather than lack of it; his problem was not to obtain it but to digest it. He was eventually all but buried under the avalanche of official, semi-official, unofficial and personal papers that poured from the press of many lands. In the categories of semi-official and unofficial, the same bids fair to be true again. Books such as Sir Neville Henderson's *Failure of a Mission* and Ambassador Davies' *Mission to Moscow* are typical and doubtless herald the future publication of personal accounts that will equal or surpass the rich legacy of diaries and memoirs that emanated from the last conflict. The outbreak of the present war found journalism technically equipped to cover its progress in a manner admitting no comparison with the machinery of 1914. Publications of a journalistic nature, along lines similar to William L. Shirer's *Berlin Diary*, should be multifold and offer a type of source material relatively scarce before 1914. The growing sense of popular historical consciousness should prove a real stimulus. Fiction can scarcely conceive the roles that some men have already played. What of Rudolf Hess, whose strange flight becomes only more mysterious after every purported explanation? What student of the period would not place unlimited value upon an account of Admiral William D. Leahy depicting his long struggle to prevent the Franco-German collaboration demanded by M. Laval? Who could justly appraise an unexpurgated diary of Marshal Petain? What secrets in the diplomacy of treachery might be revealed by Saburo Kurusu?

The anticipated volume of official documentary sources, however, poses a different problem. Will they be as numerous as before? Indications are that they will not. The democratic states presumably should account for a total proportionate to that of the last war, though the German occupation of certain European capitals may leave its mark. There is reason to believe that such will not be the case with the totalitarian powers. The governmental organization of dictatorship minimizes the use of literary devices. There are no deliberative legislatures to keep journals and records nor to publish results of committee hearings and investigations. There are no cabinets to keep minutes of their sessions.

Within the past generation diplomacy has become much more personal and direct. The diplomat of our day is less a person and more a voice. Important decisions can be made by transcontinental and transoceanic telephone. We may never know what was said and what was done on the occasions when Hitler and Mussolini met for personal discussion. Neither is it likely that we shall ever have direct knowledge of what transpired when the statesmen of lesser nations were summoned to Berchtesgaden to learn

the Führer's will concerning the fate of their respective countries. Though the personal techniques are more characteristic of the dictatorial states, they have not been lacking in the democracies. It is unlikely that any *procès-verbal* of the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting somewhere in the Atlantic in August, 1941, will ever appear, though no one believes that the provisions of the "Atlantic Charter" constituted the only subject of discussion. The same men doubtless had other things to do beyond keeping minutes of their conversations on the more recent occasions when the Prime Minister came to Washington. Technology and usage threaten to deprive the historian of some of the tools that have been traditionally a *sine qua non* and they may compel him to adopt a less orthodox approach.

It is safe to say that no statesman will ever publicly seek credit for his role in bringing about the Second World War. If the devil can quote Scripture, so can the sabre-rattler proclaim his devotion to peace. Human nature being what it is and showing little tendency to become otherwise, personal records, such as the diary and memoir, will remain both valuable and treacherous as historical source material. So long as men esteem peace as the normal state of human relationships so long will a defense complex characterize the personal accounts of those men in responsible positions on the eve of war. Henderson's *Failure of a Mission* does a convincing job of placing the guilt upon Hitler and the nazis. The German ambassador to London could probably do as well if he levelled his shafts at the fumbling ineptitude of Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain. The memoirs of the first war can be designated as studies in exculpation; Sir Edward Grey alone seems to have had less good fortune than his contemporaries but the fault lay not so much with lack of effort on his part as with the unwitting disclosures of Herbert H. Asquith and the revelations of David Lloyd George and John Morley.

Time and circumstance have not permitted as yet the publication of much material of the personal type, but the historian can raise his hopes in the thought that both totalitarian and democratic leaders are men who know from experience how to employ the pen. Divinities are not expected to write books so nothing is to be anticipated from Hirohito whose reports will be given to the honorable ancestors and not to mere men. But Mussolini has long since presented us with his *Autobiography. Mein Kampf* was written when its author could not know that he would have the opportunity to translate theory into practice. His enemies will hope that in his emulation of Napoleon he will not overlook the memoirs from St. Helena. The literary output of Winston Churchill has been prolific for a man long absorbed with the cares and problems of public life. Franklin D. Roosevelt's pen has accounted for *Looking For-*

*ward* and *On Our Way*. With the President's flair for the dramatic and concern for his place in history evidenced by the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, we can anticipate a quantity of substantial additions to his *Public Papers and Addresses*. It is fondly to be hoped that the ubiquitous Mr. Sumner Welles will not disappoint the historian's expectations. The unassuming atmosphere with which Stalin surrounds himself makes it less likely that he will choose to tell the story of Russian policy from the breakdown of Allied negotiations in the summer of 1939 to the German invasion of June, 1941. No official hand has yet traced the martyrdom of France but Daladier, Reynaud and Gamelin had ample time before the opening of the Riom trials. Prison cells have often been productive of memoirs and in this case the incentive to justification should be strong. The potentialities are vast; the harvest is great and the laborers surely not few.

The most serious obstacle to historical inquiry will be propaganda. If the techniques of propaganda are legion, its purpose is one—to influence opinion. The propagandist is far more concerned with the immediate purpose of influencing his contemporaries rather than historians, but if he succeeds in the first task he has at least a chance of success in the second. As a device propaganda is far from new. The serpent in the Garden of Eden might be called the first propagandist; if so, Eve was the second. Though war clouds hung over Europe in 1914, and long before, no nation anticipated the circumstances in which the conflict would begin, hence the propaganda of the First World War was in the main *post facto*. It had to be fashioned to fit existing conditions and was never aimed to create those conditions. In those days the Propaganda Ministry went into action after the Foreign Office and the General Staff. Indeed, it was the First World War that demonstrated how formidable a weapon propaganda could be when its hitherto unsystematized techniques were molded into a veritable body of science. None will deny that to this science an artful Dr. Goebbels and his professional colleagues have made significant original contributions.

The man skilled in influencing opinion knows that propaganda is most effective when not recognized as such. Therefore he seeks to cover his tracks and hence the critical circumspection necessary in following and exposing the trail. Even though propagandistic intent be established it still follows that any given instance may be unvarnished truth, half truth, distorted truth, absolute falsehood or a well weighed admixture of these elements best calculated to serve the propagandist's purpose. The historian must expect to find the propaganda on the eve of this conflict more subtle and intensive than any previously encountered. The machinery was tested before 1939; it was already in smooth operation and only a signal



was required to throw the central agencies and the numerous "Libraries of Information" into high gear.

The cruder types of propaganda that distinguished the "trial and error" stage of development are less in evidence. The rich dividends of the "atrocities story" in the last war could be not overlooked, but skilled propagandists are skeptical of its value today. Herr Goebbels has used it sparingly. The known exaggerations of "atrocities" and the callousness of a world inured to "total war" have robbed this technique of much of its potency. Its widest use has been at the hands of smaller nations such as Poland that have had a minimum of propaganda experience.

While the primary purpose of propaganda is to influence opinion, there has been less effort to inspire favorable opinion than was formerly the case. Axis people were difficult to reach behind the veil of press and radio censorship and Dr. Goebbels gave up as a bad job the task of educating the peoples of democratic nations to the beauties of the Nazi way of life. The war speeches of Woodrow Wilson, particularly that of January 8, 1918, including the "Fourteen Points," earned the former Princeton professor the reputation of a master propagandist, for students of the art witnessed a finished demonstration of driving a fatal wedge between a government on the one hand and its armed forces and people on the other. With that experience in mind the Germans have devoted themselves to intensive effort to create suspicion and division among their enemies, nation against nation, class against class and policy against policy. None of these efforts involves selling the Hitlerian program to anyone.

The propagandist of today must reckon with a high degree of "propaganda resistance," hence his weapons must be deftly employed. In the last war the offensive aspects of propaganda clearly outweighed the defensive. But in recent years people have been on the alert for propaganda; Institutes of Analysis have kept a watchful eye upon it. The British have had occasion to lament the success of their American propaganda in 1914-17 for in this war it has been said that Americans were "propaganda conscious" to the point of blindness, for too many of them regarded the alleged dangers of Hitlerism as merely a thinly disguised British cry to inveigle them into saving democracy once more and, incidentally, the British Empire as well.

Radio broadcasting, as a factor in war, cannot yet be appraised. The last conflict allowed no precedents. There are no devices for accurate measure. The prohibition of short wave receivers in totalitarian countries exemplifies only one instance where defensive techniques seek to nullify offensive. But it has given a belligerent government a means for direct access to at least some of the people residing within the boundaries of an enemy state. The press, re-

garded by Professor Fay as an underlying cause of the last war, cannot hope to escape a repetition of that charge. Before 1914 the press was comparatively free, but in the totalitarian states muzzling of the press has coincided with the dictator's assumption of power. In the previous struggle ironclad censorship waited for the outbreak of hostilities. German newspapers before 1914 were valuable sources; the historian who must handle them between 1933-39 will find few to envy him. A totalitarian regime with years of unremitting press censorship should provide the educational sociologist with some absorbing laboratory material in warped mentalities.

It is inevitable that propaganda will constitute a *bête noir*. In content it will be alike more extensive and intensive, greater in variety and type, more subtle in form, more intricate in substance. It is no overstatement to say that unless a representative amount of verifiable documentary material can be obtained, it is likely that the single factor of propaganda could make impossible any clear and objective picture of war guilt. Such responsibility becomes a closed question in the case of a nation once hostilities are undertaken. The lack of extensive propagandizing before the Austro-Hungarian declaration of war on Serbia in 1914 made the problem of guilt simpler than it will be in the case of 1939.

The final major problem, for want of a term more apt, may be called that of bibliographical inaccessibility. Between this problem and the matter of linguistics already mentioned there lies a necessary relation. If the trend of post-war publication follows that of the First World War, the historian may find himself in the ironic position of being literally buried under source material, but unable to exploit it. Dismissing for a moment the matter of languages, how can such a mass of evidence be assembled and made available to scholars? The productive years of a lifetime could be spent going from place to place seeking the information, to say nothing of the time required to reduce findings and conclusions to finished literary form, or the prohibitive cost that would bar all but the "gentleman scholar."

While the problem of inaccessibility might seem as imposing as those treated before, potentially it lends itself more readily to practical solution. If a new or modified League of Nations emerges from the settlement such a problem could well be a concern of that body. An international clearing house of source materials on war origins could be established and maintained. Such an atmosphere should be conducive to the efforts of a cosmopolitan committee of scholar-editors whose names would guarantee universal confidence. Or representative historians might, on their own volition, evolve such a clearing institution if proper subsidies were forthcoming from academic or non-academic sources. Greater confidence



would no doubt be reposed in such efforts if they were free from the influence of official circles in countries that might have axes to grind. Once these materials had been gathered the intelligent application of microphotography to at least the more pertinent sources would be a providential means of extending their availability. If an arrangement such as this cannot be created, it is difficult to see how the historian can be expected to match in competence the work he did after the First World War. The scope and intensity of the present conflict militate against the belief that the work can be done on

anything like an individual basis.

But the challenge is before us and the work must be done. Not only in the laudable, if often unfulfilled hope that a future generation will profit from the mistakes of the past; not only because society will rightfully expect that account from those best qualified to tell it, but also because a sense of scholarly responsibility will allow him no peace of conscience if the historian permits what promises to be the most significant chapter in the history of modern man to remain unwritten.

## Visual and Other Aids

ROBERT E. JEWETT

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Should films depicting the extent to which we have fallen short of the realization of the democratic ideal be shown to secondary-school pupils while our country is at war? This question raises a basic issue for social-studies teachers. Therefore, this question has been submitted to several educators, who are teaching, or preparing to teach, either on the secondary school or college level and are interested in the use of visual aids in the teaching of the social studies. Following are their opinions.

Frank Arnold, Social-Studies Teacher  
Walbridge High School  
Walbridge, Ohio

Democracy does not, and should not make any pretense of being perfect. One of its basic tenets is that of progressing toward something better. Particularly in time of emergency, goals worth working for, and for many, goals worth fighting for, must be discovered by our young people.

These goals lay not in the few scraps of near-perfection that we can see; but in the unfinished business that lies head. Here is the challenge of democracy! It is a challenge that can be met only through aiding pupils in every possible way to face it squarely and realistically.

Marjorie Braymer, Student  
Majoring in Social Studies  
Ohio State University

The weaknesses and shortcomings in our realization of the democratic ideal will not be overcome, and certainly they never will be mastered, by any process of rationalization that denies their existence.

Censorship in wartime has two edges: handled skillfully it can be used in self-protection to do great damage to the enemy. Used without skill and

abusively, it can be self-destructive. If in time of war we cut off intelligent criticism by refusing to admit that democracy has its unsolved problems, we ensure their prolongation and risk their intensification. Such an act clearly runs counter to the democratic ideal, which looks to an enlightened public opinion, to free discussion and cooperative methods to achieve its fullest realization.

Secondary school students are people of a democracy too. Unless they are made aware of the problems of their nation they are being deprived of the chance to inquire into the means they may use to solve them. Shown false, distorted or censored films, their attitudes will faithfully reflect these distortions. On the other hand, if frank and searching criticism is fostered by means of films which unequivocally state a given problem, and if this criticism leads to a more mature understanding of democracy's problems, its ideals are being well served. Censorship of criticism that is directed at self-betterment can only be destructive. By all means let motion pictures which deal honestly with our problems be shown to high school students. War conditions do not mitigate the unsolved problems of democracy, of whatever nature. Rather, war may increase and extend them if they are neglected. The greatest harm, then, comes from refusal to face the issues, not from study of their causes, nature and possible means of coping with them.

Reo D. Burgoon, Social-Studies Teacher  
North High School  
Columbus, Ohio

As I see it, the function of the schools, particularly on the secondary school level, is to present materials that will enable the pupil to secure as accurate a picture as possible of the workings of our

economic and social organization under the democratic process. If this function is valid during peace times, it is just as valid, perhaps more so, during war. In the forefront of the things we are fighting for in this war, as a part of the democratic way of life that we want to endure, is an orderly process of change. In my opinion, nothing could more completely establish the honesty back of the slogans and purposes expressed for this war than a fair statement of some of our failures and shortcomings to indicate an area in which that process of change may continue to operate in the future.

We as a people have demanded the truth in our war news, no matter how unpleasant it might be, because we insisted we could "take it." I am sure that the younger generation of such a people do not need to "take" their social studies sugar-coated.

R. H. Eckelberry, Professor of Education  
Ohio State University  
Columbus, Ohio

Yes, such films should be shown in wartime. Few would question the desirability of their being shown in normal times. If our students are to be intelligent about the world in which they live, they must be informed concerning the unfinished business of democracy. The only possible argument against their being shown in wartimes is that such showing would interfere with successful prosecution of the war. If it would so interfere that would be conclusive against it.

But I believe that showing such films *properly done*, would not have any such effect. "Properly done" implies proper selection of films, properly balancing such films with those which show the other side of the picture, and proper preparation for and follow-up of each film. If these things were done, the showing of such films not only would not interfere with the war effort but would contribute to it. Slums, malnutrition, illiteracy, etc., are themselves positive hindrances to the war effort, and showing such films should help in their elimination. Furthermore, it should help prepare students for effective

citizenship in the post-war world, since the existence of such conditions here and in other countries will present one of our most pressing peacetime problems.

Marlice P. Hunt, Social Studies Teacher  
Wilds High School  
Delaware, Ohio

We would be making a serious mistake to let the distraction of war turn our attention from other social problems. We must plan now for a better post war world, and we cannot do this without an intelligent study of the problems of modern capitalism.

Since the war is a powerful distracting factor, I believe we should show more social-problems films than ever before if we are not to lose sight of this vital task.

It is unfortunate that we do not have more films available on such central problems as monopoly, labor relations, waste in private industry, harmful foods and drugs, fraudulent advertising, technological unemployment, poverty in the midst of potential plenty, imperialism, control of the press and radio by vested interests, and so on.

#### NEWS NOTES

Bell and Howell Filmsound Library, 1801 Larchmond Avenue, Chicago, has for distribution a one-reel, 16 mm. sound film entitled *Caucasian Barrier*. The film depicts life south of the Caucasians in Soviet Armenia, along the Georgian Military Highway, and in the mountain country among the primitive Khevsurs.

Bell and Howell have added two 16 mm. one-reel sound films on safety subjects to their Filmsound Library. These films, produced by the Los Angeles Police Department, are entitled, *Motors on Parade* and *Foot Faults*. The former stresses highway safety as a goal and the functions and methods of the Police Department in attempting to realize this objective. The latter treats the subject of pedestrian safety.

## News and Comment

MORRIS WOLF

Head, Social Studies Department, Girard College, Philadelphia

### EDUCATION, A WAR ARM

A conference was recently held in Washington whose consequences for education are far-reaching. Educators sat down with government and military

officials, representatives of the War Manpower Commission and Office of Education, and others to canvass ways for schools to give more immediately effective aid to the war effort. Attention was drawn

to two of the addresses in this department in our issue for October: Commissioner Studebaker's "What the Schools Can Do to Help Win This War" and War Information Director Davis's "What Can an Intelligent Teacher Do About the War?"

Under the title, "National Institute on Education and the War," *The Education Digest* devoted the first nineteen pages of its October number to an account of this conference and condensations of five principal addresses: the two already referred to, Lieutenant-General Somervell's impressive statement of "The Teacher's Job in Total War," Manpower Commission Chairman McNutt's "Schools in Wartime," and Assistant Budget Director Jones's "The Fiscal Outlook for Education."

The reading of these pages brings home the fact that the teacher's work is war work. General Somervell quoted figures to make clear the shocking shortages of trained personnel for the military jobs in today's technological war. The Army and Navy cannot supply the training, for that is not their chief job. Every hour of training the school saves them is all gain. Said General Somervell:

The job of the armed forces is to win this total war on the battlefield. The job of industry is to furnish the weapons and supplies needed by the armed forces to carry it on. The job of the schools in this total war is to educate the nation's manpower for war and for the peace that follows. We can lose this war on the battlefield as a direct result of losing it on the industrial front, on the home front, or on the educational front. Education is the backbone of an army.

The educators at the conference drew up a set of specifications for the adjustment of school programs to meet the demands of total war. They outlined curricular changes in sciences, mathematics, industrial arts, health, and other parts of the school program in order to prepare youth directly for war, whatever the phase of effort they are called to. They suggested, similarly, the programs for health, guidance, community service, and extra-curricular activity. They declared "that not a moment should be lost in the full use of the power of the nation to the war effort."

In this connection, last month, reference was made here to the "Schools at War" program sponsored by the United States Treasury and the Office of Education. In *The Nation's Schools* for November, Homer W. Anderson of the War Savings Staff described the features of that program. ("Schools at War"). He asked schools to make a record of their war activities in reports, charts, and pictures. These records and exhibits of the best examples of war work will be presented later as "education's own 'Re-

port to the Nation.' " Each participating school will receive from the Treasury Department a certificate of distinguished service, and the schools of each state will be given one of the original bricks from Independence Hall, as "an heirloom of democracy."

Five wartime education committees of the Department of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania have been making recommendations for "Education and the War." Four of the committees have already reported. In the *Pennsylvania School Journal* for October were printed the reports of the Committee on Acceleration and Pre-Professional Education and the Committee on Science and Mathematics. In the November issue appeared the reports of the Committee on Aviation Education and the Committee on Teacher Education. See also the account of "The Pennsylvania Wartime Education Program," in the October and November issues of *Public Instruction*, the official bulletin of the Department of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania.

Notes on materials for wartime education are given below, under the heading, "For Teacher and Classroom."

#### MEANING OF THIS CONFLICT

Attention has often been drawn here to statements by thoughtful people who regard this crisis as a symptom of a deep revolution in the affairs of men. A superior exposition of this view was given by Lewis Mumford in the leading article of the November issue of *Progressive Education* ("A Long-Term View of the War"). We are, said he, in much the same position as Rome after the death of Marcus Aurelius. Our society is changing so basically that, without corresponding basic adjustments, we shall find ourselves in a world-wide Dark Age.

The two great wars of our century are neither accidents nor consequences of the evil machinations of certain men or nations. Our social order is no longer sound, at bottom. The epoch that began in Columbus's day is coming to an end. The era of an expanding society, whose activities, values, and meanings flowed largely from a tremendous technological advance, is closing. We are now entering a social order both more stable and more humane. The system which for four centuries has been "machine-centered, power-driven, lopsided," must be molded into one whose drive comes from human needs and purposes.

The problem of making peace, therefore, is much greater than that of winning the war. Destroying the totalitarian barbarism is but a negative part of it. Indulging hates and prejudices, restoring vested interests, and returning to business and politics and education as usual will but hasten our decline. The



social, political, educational, and economic dislocations in the years after the war will complicate the basic problem of re-molding the social order. But through it all we must seek to catch the vision of an essentially new, human—humane—order and plan toward it.

Mr. Mumford offered no specific program. But immediately after his article is a proposal by seven distinguished educators who list the "New Essentials for Education in a World at War." These they classify as abilities and supporting attitudes, knowledge, and generalizations. Much of what is said complements and implements Mumford's observations. Much is revolutionary. For instance, such essentials are calmly stated as: Schools must provide all students with food, clothing, and shelter which the family could not supply; they must assure adequate medical and dental care to all students and provide for mental and physical hygiene. The nearly fifty essentials listed provide an excellent starting place for private thinking and faculty discussion.

#### MAKING WORLD CITIZENS

M. Thomas Tchou, formerly secretary to Chiang Kai-Shek, delivered a fine address before the National Education Association on the subject of "Developing World Citizens," which was printed in the Association's *Journal* for November. The plight we are in, said he, is due in no small part to education. In all civilized countries we have inculcated national patriotism, conditioning youth for conflict with and distrust of other nationalities and races. How could the League of Nations, or other world organizations, succeed when men have the conviction that their nations each must be completely sovereign, irresponsible, and their peoples each are the Chosen People? Education has also inculcated economic laissez faire and material success. Exploitation and economic strife have been the natural fruits. Fears, jealousies, insecurities, imperialisms, divisive attitudes have been universal plagues.

We need new emphasis in education because we now need a new world order. Humanity must be seen as one because technological advance has made the globe one. Education must now inculcate the fact that all mankind is interdependent. It must really teach the brotherhood of man and the rule of reason in international relations, in place of force. The nations, like the citizens within them, must be free, but free under law, international law upheld by international police, courts, political organization. International lawlessness, like intranational, must be stopped.

Mr. Tchou suggests five principles to be inculcated, as basic for world citizenship: all men are equal, members of a common humanity; nations shall

be sovereign and free within the law, their citizens also citizens of a larger, world organization; world organization should be of the people, by the people, for the people, and the people individually, not the nations, should bear the responsibility; planning must be forehanded and carefully done, to meet the problems of such organization; a spirit of give and take must be fostered among all peoples, the more fortunate to help the less and to raise them up.

#### YOUTH'S VIEWS OF THE WORLD

What are the views of our world which our high school youth hold? What is the mind they, as adults, will bring to bear upon the problems of the world a few years hence, after the war? *Fortune* magazine recently sampled the minds of the ten million youth in our high schools, to find the answers. In the November issue the findings were presented in "The Fortune Survey."

In general, youth are conservative in the best sense of the word. They regard our democratic government as superior to any other, while they agree that improvements are required in the light of present-day needs. They prize highly freedom of speech and religion, while they value very much less such material rights as the chance to make lots of money. The vast majority of them think that job-security should be provided by the government, and at the same time most of them think every man should receive some military training, even in peacetime.

A majority favored labor unions. They hold that farmers and labor should have greater influence in national affairs, but they do not include labor leaders with labor or the workers. After the soldiers and sailors, youth thinks labor and farmers are doing the most to win the war, although they give little credit to labor leaders, business men, and "people now important in Washington."

There was definite evidence of racial and religious prejudice. The vast majority would not marry individuals of different color from themselves or of greatly different religious faith. But as a rule they did not object to working with such individuals, except that Southern youth objected to Negroes.

Youth seem not to be acutely dissatisfied with anything in the country, although many singled out labor disputes and political inefficiency and mismanagement as outstanding abuses. They believe the school should discuss matters of current interest. They think the war should be fought, and they think the issues are such basic matters as freedom, democracy, and "American ideals." They reject isolationism more unanimously than their elders and want the United States to play a leading role in organizing the world for peace.

This survey of world questions will be followed by another, in the next issue of *Fortune*, on matters actually in the experience of our youth, such as youth's goals, plans, opinions about schooling and other parts of the adolescent's world.

#### EDUCATION FOR THE PEACE

Although he wrote from the standpoint of the colleges, Professor Walter R. Agard of the University of Wisconsin recently made observations about "Democratic Education During the War" that have a wider appeal. His article was the leader in the October 31 issue of *School and Society*.

Totalitarian societies have two major educational objectives: to inculcate the obligation of service to the State, as prescribed by it and regardless of individual ambitions or aptitudes; and to glorify the national culture as far superior to all others. Democratic objectives, on the contrary, are to cultivate individual differences and appreciation of the values in all human cultures. Democratic objectives rest upon the convictions "that the individual has essential worth and dignity as a person and that all men are fellow-citizens in the commonwealth of mankind."

It is true that during the war we shall curtail some of our educational activities in order to find the time and energies to prepare for the useful tasks exacted of us by the conflict. We take a spiritual loss, in wartime, as well as financial and economic losses. We must not forget, however, that technicians are not all who are needed for victory. As Professor Agard says,

We shall need, more than ever before, men and women educated to a knowledge of the history and nature of man, to the social and spiritual arts and sciences, which unite men in terms of human citizenship; social engineers, who will be able to guide scientific achievement toward socially useful ends and determine the human values which specialists shall serve. In other words, while we fight for the democratic way of life, we must have a large body of public opinion which realizes what democracy is and which will be capable of helping to organize a more democratic world when the war is over.

It will be too late, when the war is over, to begin then to think through and plan for the problems of want, reconstruction, rehabilitation, and other social calamities left in the wake of the storm of war. To form such tentative plans now not only prepares us to act when the new emergencies are upon us, but they boost our enthusiasm in the present crisis. Education now, for world citizenship, inspires morale by giving us a broad outlook and a long time per-

spective which shrinks present events down to their real size. Such education is essential for good social engineering, the prime requisite of tomorrow's world. In conclusion, Professor Agard suggested a college program of instruction consonant with these principles.

#### RACE AND CULTURE PROBLEMS

Impressed by the need to improve the relations of racial and ethnic groups nowadays, the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education is sponsoring a series of teachers' manuals and resource units, under the general title: *Problems of Race and Culture in American Education*. Harper and Brothers are publishing the series.

The introductory manual, by William E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole, discusses issues and programs (*Intercultural Education in American Schools: Proposed Objectives and Methods*). Later issues in the series will include *Dramatizing Community Culture Problems in the Public School*, by Francis Bosworth; *Let's Look at Negro America*, by Edmonia W. Grant; *Historical Backgrounds of Ethnic Differences*, by Bruno Lasker and William A. Hamm; and *Peoples of the United States*, by Simon Marcson.

Hortense Powdermaker is preparing a resource unit for high school students, on inter-group prejudices as they affect the individual and society. Ruth Kotinsky is reporting on inter-group antagonism and intercultural education as observed in four school settings.

William Heard Kilpatrick and a distinguished group of consultants are aiding in this project. For details, inquire of the Service Bureau, 221 W. 57th Street, New York City.

#### BASIC EDUCATIONAL THEORIES

Professor Alfred L. Hall-Quest performed a valuable service for teachers in his article on "Three Educational Theories: Traditionalism, Progressivism, Essentialism," which appeared in *School and Society* for November 14. In these days, particularly, it is worthwhile for teachers to recheck their alignment with the basic educational theories of our time.

Professor Hall-Quest gave a meaty summary of the origins and development of traditionalism since the ancient Greeks. He thus accounts for the traditionalist's insistence upon rigid, intellectual training through mastering logically organized knowledge. Such training prepares for living by disciplining the student, increasing his mental power and skill, and enlarging his knowledge.

Progressivism, to a considerable extent the opposite of traditionalism, stems at least from early modern times. It thought less about rigid, logical discipline and more about the nature of the learner and about ways freely to release his powers to create,

grow, and realize his potentialities. For the taskmaster it would substitute the guide and director. Method, procedure, become more important than subject matter, knowledge. To this emphasis upon creative individuality were added two other purposes. John Dewey stressed the development of scientifically disciplined mind through scientific inquiry for verifiable truth. William H. Kilpatrick stressed the interaction of individual and group for the enrichment of personality and the enlargement of social intelligence.

Much of this is approved by essentialism. But it holds that we must be careful not to neglect the accumulated skills, ideals, and ideas which, as our heritage, are basic to our civilization. "To know the best of what man has wrought is essential to the continuity that safeguards social cohesion." Learning cannot be confined to exploratory inquiry because much has to be accepted in life and should be learned. The citizen should learn how to verify, of course. But he also should learn those things accepted by all because they provide our individual and national security and give the faith by which we carry on. There is such a thing as duty.

These theories accent values differently and differ, as a result, in their view of the content and practice of education. None seems to have the whole truth, to the exclusion of the others. Professor Hall-Quest summarized their positions thus:

Traditionalism aims to develop man's mental powers through pure knowledge, intellectual symbols and difficult tasks. Progressive education seeks to foster personality and social intelligence by means of wide experiences with current problems and direct contact with objective reality. Essentialism emphasizes the enduring values of man's long historical experience and those essential skills whereby these values may be acquired, to the end that the individual may attain a self-reliant and socially dependable character.

#### FUTURE OF EDUCATION

In the October and November issues of *The School Review*, Charles H. Judd discussed "The Future of American Education." In October he described present conditions which will father change; and in November he pointed out in detail those changes which seem to him inevitable.

The Army itself gives proof of change. During World War I it gave only military training to personnel, leaving to schools and others the duty of interpreting the conflict and its issues. But in this war the Army itself is giving lectures to the men to explain the conflict and our aims. Teachers will

be interested in Dr. Judd's observation that in World War I nearly eighty per cent of the men in the Army had no more than elementary school training, whereas today the average soldier has a tenth-grade education, and college-trained men number more than one-tenth of the total.

Modern military mechanical equipment is making demands upon soldiers such as were never made before. Global war is taking soldiers to places never widely known, and, vicariously, is taking their relatives and friends—the nation—there also. New peoples, new ways and cultures, new directions, new places, and new concepts of travel, time, and place, are revolutionizing our geography. A new appreciation of the gifts of other peoples to human civilization, peoples often looked down upon, is spreading among us. New notions of the uses of political organization are dawning. Government itself, thanks to such instruments as radio and the movie, is at pains, as never before, to explain to all citizens its policies and aims, as our President did recently on the vexatious menace of inflation. Schools everywhere are now asking what are their responsibilities in these times.

In the small world of tomorrow there will be the need, never before so great, to educate people "to deal intelligently and tolerantly with . . . international relations." It has become important to develop an international mindedness in our people. This problem is interwoven with that of world economic reconstruction to provide world prosperity and security. In fact, said Dr. Judd, the program of instruction which is the core of American education is that of teaching people "how to cooperate in the conduct of those joint forms of activity which will at once leave the individual his personal freedom and bring to him the advantages of social associations."

Several other lines of instruction will be crucial in the years ahead. Vocational education has risen in importance at the same time that its truly educative cultural possibilities have been seen. Much of the separation between "academic" and "vocational" must disappear in a technological civilization, and vocational education must be part of the educational program of every pupil. Similarly, stress must be laid upon instruction in personal hygiene as educative in the broad sense. The traditional subjects will not be forced out of the program. Our complex civilization requires youth to remain longer in school, giving him more time to do more.

But the most important addition to the educational program will be in the social studies field, said Dr. Judd. We have learned fairly well how to control Nature. In our now constricted world, with many different peoples and cultures at our very doorstep,



no one can adjust himself intelligently unaided or by the incidental learning in the home. We need to study human evolution and the evolution of human institutions and interrelations. All must now know the story of how man devised ways to promote common interests of larger and yet larger groups of people, while preserving individual freedom. Illustrations of the steps in this evolution can be found in living groups, from the savages of the Amazon to the highly civilized. From their failures, too, much can be learned. The ancient Greeks, content to philosophize about justice and little concerned about devising social mechanisms by which to provide it for the masses, had institutions much more primitive than their thinking. Society became fragmented, stability was destroyed, and their civilization failed. Just this sort of anthropological and sociological approach to human history seems needed now, in place of our national histories.

The secondary school will be the place where the experience of the common people will be enlarged. It will be the home of general education. Special education will not be pushed out. But work, health, and social studies will make up the general frame of education for "the training of citizens for those functions which all must perform as members of a democratic nation."

#### HISTORICAL TRENDS

Professor Paul B. Horton of Duke University answers affirmatively the question, "Does History Show Long-Time Trends?" Writing in the November number of *The Scientific Monthly*, he argues that we need not despair of social planning and that they are wrong who assert "that man is incapable of bringing society into greater harmony with socially desired objectives and values."

That historical trends show ups and downs and not steady, continuous progress does not contradict the fact that through history from earliest times have run several lines of progress. There has been "increasing breadth and precision of man's knowledge of the physical universe." There has been the "increasing accuracy and efficiency in recording and diffusing knowledge." And there has been an increase in man's ability to manipulate the physical universe, largely through invention.

These trends are interconnected and interdependent. Related to them is another: the expansion in the "units of cultural interaction, both cooperative and antagonistic," from the clans and households to the great cartels, states, and empires. Accompanying this trend is yet another: the expansion of the function of the state, so noticeable today.

#### CONGRESS

Last month attention was directed to William

Hard's suggestions for making Congress more effective. In the November 7 issue of *The Nation*, Alexander Meiklejohn discussed the same subject, in an article on "Congress and the People."

Congress is the keystone of our democratic government, yet it inspires neither the confidence nor the respect of the people. They esteem the President and the judges more. Yet Congressmen are neither stupid nor corrupt. The moral and intellectual standards of Congress as a whole, however, are lower than those of its individual members. That Congress does not even represent its own members seems due to the machinery of elections, of choosing committees, and of working in committee and on the floor of Congress. For this machinery allows greater play for selfish interests and prejudices than for deliberate purposes and judgments and common interests.

The key to the problem seems to be our understanding of the meaning of representation in a democracy. Congress does represent the wants of the people. But it is subjected to the pressure-group "theory of legislation" which makes law-making merely a process of "struggle and compromise and bargaining" largely between partisan, selfish, and unscrupulous interests. Law-making should be for the public good and the result of reasoned and impartial judgment. Like Mr. Hard, Dr. Meiklejohn says that Congress has come to forfeit its deliberative powers to other branches of the government which present it with carefully thought-out plans and recommendations for legislative action.

New legislative machinery is not enough. We need to destroy the cancer of localism which pervades the American mind. Such machinery will not destroy our childlike assumption that our traditional representative institutions are too good to be improved. It will not make Congress a body representative of the nation and a deliberative body occupying the primary place in a free government.

#### EAST AND WEST

*Asia*, in November, announced an important change. While its editorial policy continues to be independent, the magazine has become the official organ of The East and West Association (458 Graybar Building, New York City). In place of a hemisphere policy—a North-South American axis—an "all-peoples policy" is recognized, with the axis running east and west and linking all the peoples around the Pacific. The name of the magazine is changed to embody this idea, becoming *Asia and the Americas*.

As the organ of the East and West Association a special section of the magazine will be used each month to present materials "furthering mutual knowledge and understanding between peoples."

Pearl Buck, an editor of *Asia and the Americas*, is also President of The East and West Association.

#### CULTURAL OLYMPICS

The programs of Cultural Olympics, this year, show how the arts can help a nation at war. Dances, poetry, music, and drama will illustrate the theme, "This Is America." In just such times as these there is hygienic value in pursuing cultural activities.

Tens of thousands of youth have participated in the festivals, arts exhibits, and other cultural activities, while hundreds of thousands of people have attended them. Musical, dramatic, and other organizations have been the outgrowth of Cultural Olympics.

Full information about Cultural Olympics may be secured from Dr. Frederick C. Gruber, Director, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

#### FOR TEACHER AND CLASSROOM

The schools of Santa Barbara (Calif.), under the direction of Superintendent Curtis E. Warren, recently issued *You Are American*, a 74-page booklet for use in grades three to twelve as reader, workbook, and study guide. Among the matters taken up are wartime attitudes, civilian defense and maintenance of physical fitness, conservation and production in aid of war effort, ways for school youth to prepare for post-school activities, and ways—music, games, etc.—for keeping one's balance in these times. In addition to this booklet the Santa Barbara schools have issued a pamphlet for parents, called *Your Emergency Guide*. It is designed to counteract hysteria and fear and to bring school and home closer together. Both are inexpensive.

In the field of Pan America the United States Office of Education recently issued *Understanding the Other American Republics*, for younger pupils. It is Pamphlet No. 12 of the "Education and National Defense" Series and may be purchased (25 cents) from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington (D.C.).

In the interests of the Good Neighbor Policy, the Pan American Union is publishing a series of five-cent pamphlets on Latin America, for elementary and secondary school students. Among those already published are *The Pan American Union*, *The Panama Canal*, *The Pan American Highway*, and *Pizarro*.

An inexpensive 64-page booklet explaining World War II to high school youth has been published by Scholastic Publications (430 Kinnard Avenue, Dayton, Ohio). Called *The War for Freedom*, it de-

scribes background facts since World War I, the strategy of this war, the resources, aims, leaders, etc., of the combatants. It is profusely illustrated with pictures, maps, and charts.

Teachers will find a maturer discussion of these matters and of the problems we shall face in the peace, in the October 15 issue of *Social Action* (Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City). The issue, entitled *Uniting Today for Tomorrow*, was prepared by Professors G. L. Kirk and W. R. Sharp.

During the war there is an accent upon practical education. How will it affect postwar education? This question is raised by the Editor of the *Educational Supplement* of *The London Times*, Mr. H. C. Dent, in his description of how "Britain Stresses the Practical" in her schools, in *The School Executive* for November.

The November issue of *Survey Graphic* is the seventh in the "Calling America" Series. It is an invaluable study of the race problem. Called "Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy," it studies the problem in the light of the present war to defend democracy and destroy the Nazi notion of race superiority. This aim makes our Negro problem poignant. The distinguished contributors to this number clarify facets of the color problem not only in this country but elsewhere the world over. No small aid is given by the many pictures, maps, and charts.

About thirty specialists discussed "Labor Relations and the War," in the November number of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Many aspects of the problem during the war and after were canvassed.

Superintendent L. P. Hauser of Riverside (Illinois) tells of ways to "Stop the Junior Crime Wave," in *The School Executive* for November. He discussed how the school itself contributes to delinquency and suggested ways to meet the situation.

An extensive and valuable summary of six of the best known "Typical Plans for Postwar World Peace" was given by Otto T. Mallery in the November number of *International Conciliation* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 W. 117 Street, New York City).

A handsomely illustrated account of "Weaving Through the Ages" appeared in *Natural History* for November. In it, Estelle H. Ries described weaving since Neolithic times. The various methods, materials, and designs and colors employed in the Old World and the New are shown in word and picture attractive to young students.

# Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by RICHARD H. McFEELY

The George School, George School, Pennsylvania

*There Were Giants in the Land.* By Twenty-eight Contemporary Americans. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942. Pp. 242, \$2.00.

The selection of useful reading material for creating an appreciation of ethical and patriotic ideals is a difficult task in historical instruction. Usually the problem is one of choosing literature which is sufficiently factual yet not unduly detailed and is written purposefully without excessive didacticism. The value of material which can instill moral concepts and patriotism has long been apparent to educators. Its worth in the building of morale is even more obvious today as the nation fights to maintain cherished social and political ideals. *There Were Giants in the Land* can be used effectively for this type of instruction.

This book, written at the suggestion of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, consists of twenty-eight brief historical sketches of famous Americans of the past. Twenty-eight noted contemporary writers are authors of the sketches. Among them are such distinguished writers as Stephen Vincent Benet, Marquis James, Carl Van Doren, Booth Tarkington, Allan Nevins, and Carl Sandburg. Vivid illustrations by Charles Child also greatly enhance the value of the volume.

According to Secretary Morgenthau the purpose of this historical work is not merely to honor individual greatness but rather "to interpret the lives of great Americans in terms that would enlarge our understanding of the challenge we face today" and "help our own people and friends in other lands to appreciate the pioneer traditions of present-day America." This reviewer believes that the purpose of the book has been well achieved. The lives of such immortals as Washington, Jefferson, Webster, Lincoln, Whitman, Roosevelt, and others are traced concisely and interpreted with clear meanings for our times. The sketches cover on an average only about nine pages but are masterful portraits of historic giants whose statures loom with real significance on our contemporary horizon. Benet's sketch of Webster, for example, is a model of conciseness. In a single sentence he summarizes the greatness of this noted statesman: "He set up and affirmed in men's minds the idea of the United States, not just as a haphazard, temporary league or a partnership between states to be dissolved at their convenience, but as an entity, a deep reality, a living thing that deserved and must have the deepest devotion of every

American." Rupert Hughes describes vividly the difficulties of General Washington in the light of our present war problems and how he overcame a whole series of Pearl Harbors with determination and self-sacrificing patriotism. Sandburg's sketch of Lincoln shows how that great American faced the tremendous issues of his time and how he enriched our heritage. Sandburg concludes poetically that "in the lights and shadows of the personality" of Lincoln millions here and abroad behold today "something they would like to see spread everywhere over the world."

This work also renders a valuable service in presenting interpretations of the lives of great Americans who are frequently neglected by writers of history textbooks. In this group are James Cardinal Gibbons, Frederick Douglass, Henry David Thoreau, and Joseph Goldberger. These men were giants in their own right and their lives symbolize worthy principles.

Secretary Morgenthau is to be commended for sponsoring the publication of this extremely interesting collection of historical sketches. All Americans can read *There Were Giants in the Land* for inspiration and hope. Its clear, concise, and meaningful pages make it a valuable reference in the teaching of fundamental ideals in America's democratic heritage.

HAROLD T. PINKETT

The National Archives  
Washington, D.C.

*The Modern High School Curriculum.* By Paul E. Belting and Natalia Maree Belting. Champaign, Illinois: The Garrard Press, 1942. Pp. 276. \$2.50.

The volume opens with a twenty-two page historical summary of high points in the history of education relating to certain aspects of secondary school theory. Then follow thirteen chapters on the subject-fields, and a summary chapter. The account of the curriculum was based upon a study of certain curricula in sixty-eight high schools in Illinois. The book does not, however, consist of descriptions of these curricula, except as excerpts from programs are inserted here and there as illustrations. The chapters are made up of generalizations about practice and of somewhat detailed outlines of recommendations on content and methods. The proposals are in terms of "courses." In the social studies alone eight such courses are suggested. The aggregate for the thirteen



fields would be so great that any one student could elect only a very small proportion of them. This multiplication of courses can hardly be a satisfactory solution to the problem of a well-rounded general education. On the whole, the recommendations are sane and healthy, though far from pioneering. If secondary school teachers throughout the nation would read and follow them, seventy-five per cent, maybe even ninety per cent of the high schools would be better than they now are; the topmost ten per cent would be worse.

CHARLES C. PETERS

Pennsylvania State College  
State College, Pennsylvania

*The Days of Ofelia.* By Gertrude Diamant. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942. Pp. 226. Illustrated. \$2.75.

Miss Diamant's story of Ofelia, the little housemaid, is one which every resident of Mexico knows well. It presents with simple charm those grave and dignified people, oppressed but unimpaired by poverty and ignorance, in whom the future of Mexico is vested. The author is not a D. H. Lawrence, nor yet a Flandreau; but she is a sympathetic observer, interested in the Mexico she lived in from day to day. The book will probably be overestimated by those who do not know Mexico, and who will suppose that the author is to get the credit for unusual adventures and beguiling personalities. Credit is certainly due her, however, for the clear and unaffected writing which accounts for not a little of the story's charm.

It is true that her report would be more valuable if she made an effort to show us its significance. What are we to think of a country which eats only tortillas and beans, where piety takes the place of education, where a grave little girl with black pig-tails yearns for responsibility and the dignity of a maid's apron—almost sinfully, since she is aware that she ought to go to school? We like to have the opinion of an author on the questions she presents; fiction is only superior to life if it solves some of the uncertainties. But why quibble? It is a delightful story, everyone will enjoy it, and we shall profit, too, by such a picture of Mexicans as human beings. It is not only the next-best thing to a trip to Mexico; because it is thoughtful and honest, it is also a good preparation for such a visit.

ELIZABETH WILDER

Library of Congress  
Washington, D.C.

*Robert Alexander: Maryland Loyalist.* By Janet Bassett Johnson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. Pp. xiii, 152. \$2.50.

Robert Alexander, holder of an extensive estate in Cecil County, built up a successful law practice

in Baltimore in the years preceding the Revolution. He took a leading part in the opposition to the arbitrary policy of the British government, culminating in membership in the Continental Congress. Conservative that he was, however, he opposed independence and transferred his influence to the Loyalist side. He left Maryland, never to return, when Sir William Howe withdrew his troops from the Chesapeake. His latter years were spent in London as a pensionary of the British government.

The present study, sympathetic to the point of sentimentality, presents Alexander as an able, conscientious, public-spirited man. It does not probe very deep beneath the surface, but it gives evidence of assiduous search for material pertinent to Alexander's career. Herein lies its contribution.

LEONIDAS DODSON

University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

#### TEXT BOOKS AND OTHER TEACHING AIDS

*Three Island Nations: Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic.* By Sydney Greenbie. *Next Door Neighbor: Mexico.* By Sydney Greenbie. The Good Neighbor Series. New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1942. Pp. 84, 84. Illustrated. Paper covers. Each 56 cents.

The Good Neighbor Series, edited by the Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker, will include eight books treating the Latin American countries. The first two have appeared: *Three Island Nations: Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic* and *Next Door Neighbor: Mexico*. They achieve the objective of the series: To bring about "a greater understanding and heightened appreciation of Latin Americans among the citizens of the United States." Attention is focussed on the past and present achievements of the countries discussed. The weaving of conversation into the narrative gives the text reality and clarity. The books are well planned and are a contribution to secondary school literature. They contain pronouncing glossaries and are well illustrated.

#### PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

*Uniting Today For Tomorrow.* By Grayson L. Kirk and Walter R. Sharp. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1942. Pp. 56. 25 cents.

A Headline Book in which the Foreign Policy Association sets forth valuable information about the great international coalition—the United Nations—dealing with the present war effort and the future peace work for which they are united.

*Mexico: The Making of a Nation.* By Hubert Herring. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1942. Pp. 96. 25 cents.

Another of the long list of valuable Headline Books in which the Foreign Policy Association helps Americans to know more about the great country to the south of us.

*The Political Scientist and National Service in Wartime.* By the Committee on Wartime Services of the American Political Science Association, 1942. Washington, D.C.: American Council in Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. 16. 25 cents.

A report which tells of the ways in which political scientists can and are helping with the war effort.

*The Units of Government in the United States.* By William Anderson. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1942. Pp. 47. \$1.00.

A new, completely revised edition of a valuable report devoted to the enumeration and description of local units of government in the United States.

#### CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*The Social Economics of Agriculture.* By Wilson Gee. New York: Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. xii, 720. \$4.00.

A revised edition of a book well-known to those who are deeply interested in the paramount importance of agriculture as a phase of our national life. The author is well-qualified to write on the topics considered herein.

*The Curriculum of Democratic Education.* By Charles C. Peters. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942. Pp. ix, 367. \$2.75.

The author gives to the reader of this text a theory of education and the place of the school in a democratic society. He then builds up an account of the nature and organization of a curriculum in accord with this theory. Provocative.

*Modern World Politics.* Edited by Thorsten V. Kaljarvi. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942. Pp. xiii, 843. Text edition, \$3.75.

An important addition to those books designed to help students clarify their thinking on world politics and thus contribute to the winning of the war, and, thereafter, to the advancement of the great hopes of mankind for peace.

*As the Twig Is Bent.* By Richard Welling. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. Pp. xiv, 295. Illustrated. \$3.00.

A stimulating book about Richard Welling, founder of the National Self-Government Committee, an organization which has been working for the past forty years to give young people a chance to understand democracy by governing themselves in

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schools and in their own organizations. Readable and interesting.

*The Man Who Dared to Care.* By Mary Tarver Carroll. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942. Pp. vi, 216. \$2.00.

An absorbing biography of James Oglethorpe. Presents in a vivid, interesting manner General Oglethorpe's efforts to establish a colony for released debtors in Georgia in the early days of our country.

*Richard Rush.* By J. H. Powell. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942. Pp. vi, 291. \$2.75.

This is the most recent addition to the series of Pennsylvania Lives, and deals with a man, son of the famous Dr. Benjamin Rush, who, though not so dynamic and illustrious as his father, did leave a deep imprint on many phases of national life.

*Three Island Nations: Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic.* By Sidney Greenbie. New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1942. Pp. 84. Illustrated. 56 cents.

One of an excellent series of books designed to give accurate information about our neighbors to the south. Beautifully illustrated.

*Next-Door Neighbor: Mexico.* By Sidney Greenbie. New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1942. Pp. 84. Illustrated. 56 cents.

Another of a series of eight books of the Good Neighbor Series, prepared to give authentic and interesting information about the other American Republics with which our destinies are becoming increasingly linked. Profusely illustrated.

*The American Ballot.* By Spencer D. Albright. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. 153. Paper edition, \$2.00.

Dr. Albright "has attacked primarily the problem of collecting and comparing in a comprehensive and careful fashion the facts in regard to the manifold ballot forms now in use in the United States, both in general and primary elections and in regard to the extent to which the voting machine has been adopted and the results attained in its use."

*Liberty and Learning.* By David Edison Bunting. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. vii, 147. Paper Edition, \$2.00.

A timely study of the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union in behalf of freedom of education. Contains much food for thought for teachers and administrators.

*Nazi Guide to Nazism.* Edited by Rolf Tell. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. vii, 192. Paper Edition, \$1.00.

This book, first printed and widely read in England, should make much clearer to Americans the basic philosophy of nazism and its menace to the world. It is composed mainly of quotes or statements made by Hitler and his disciples through which a more complete understanding of nazism results.

*Our Fighting Faith.* By James Bryant Conant. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. 105.

A clear, deeply moving statement of our faith by the president of Harvard University.

*Social Institutions.* By Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1942. Pp. xi, 927. \$5.35.

This book, another in a long list of scholarly works by an astute student of our times, "attempts to describe and appraise our institutional equipment in a period of far reaching and unpredictable social change."

*The Republic of the United States.* Vol. II. By Jeanette P. Nichols and Roy F. Nichols. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942. Pp. xii, 715. \$3.50.

The second volume of a history of the United States, dealing with the period from 1865-1942, written by two outstanding historians of the day. An excellent treatment of this era of great importance and change. Good charts and diagrams and well-chosen illustrations.

*Ox-Team Miracle.* By Hildegard Hawthorne. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942. Pp. vii, 236. \$2.00.

An interesting biography of an unassuming man—Alexander Majors—who did so much to keep the wagons and freight moving westward during the middle of the 19th Century. A valuable addition to the literature dealing with the expansion of our country to the West.

*The American Jew.* Edited by Oscar I. Janowsky. New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1942. Pp. xvi, 322. \$2.50.

This cooperative work presents a challenging analysis of Jewish living in America—its scope, character, and institutions. It is a book for the general reader and helpful as a basis for understanding this group.

*Democracy by Discussion.* By Emory S. Bogardus. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. viii, 59. \$1.00.

This is a carefully planned book designed to help educational agencies do better their job of establishing forums and discussion groups. It contains many helpful suggestions, practical in nature.

*The United Nations.* By Henri Bonnet. Chicago: World Citizens Association, 1942. Pp. vii, 100. 25 cents.

A brief but adequate account of the United Nations: what they are and what they may become.

*The United Nations on the Way.* By Henri Bonnet. Chicago: World Citizens Association, 1942. Pp. ix, 170. 25 cents.

A lucid, compact analysis of the aims of the United Nations as they have been set forth in such documents as the Atlantic Charter, the "Four Freedoms," and of the steps being taken to bring these aims to pass.

*Why We Are At War.* By Preston Slosson. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942. Pp. iv, 90. 56 cents.

An excellent statement of the reasons why we are at war, why we must win, and what we must not do when the war is over if we are to build for a permanent peace and a democratic civilization.